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BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERAVATTHU

I

In 'L'Origine Cinghalaise du P'raḥ Malay' (*Felicitatation volume of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.M. Prince Dhaninivat*, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 329–38), the late Eugène Denis S.J. (1921–86) stated that the École Française d'Extrême-Orient was to publish his 1963 Sorbonne doctoral thesis, which was entitled 'Braḥ Māleyya devattheravattthum, Légende bouddhiste du saint therā Māleyya deva. Texte établi d'après des manuscrits inédits en caractères cambodgiennes, accompagné d'une introduction et d'une traduction, avec une traduction du P'raḥ Malay siamois qui en est dérivé'. Unfortunately this did not happen, and the article remains his only publication on the topic to date. Very few primary sources for the story — better, stories — of Māleyya¹ are yet available in the West, and Denis' thesis has proved elusive to a number of scholars who have tried to find it: even those in Paris, including Denis' Directeur de travaux, André Bareau, seem to have had some difficulty in locating a copy. The Pali Text Society has acquired one through Professor O. von Hinüber, itself taken from a copy in the library of the University of Göttingen. It seemed to us that it would be useful to make available here Denis' text, accompanied by a translation of it into English.² The story of Māleyya deva is known to have been very important in the practice of traditional Thai Buddhism; but the text is also relevant to the matters of linguistic and literary history with which the JPTS is more specifically

¹ The Pali form of the name is spelt variously, as Maliya, Malaya, Māleyya, etc., sometimes with one of the suffixes -mahādeva or -deva; sometimes these suffixes are used alone (as in the text p. 58 below). For brevity I shall use Māleyya.

² Permission for the present publication has been given by Denis' surviving sister, Mme Marie-Thérèse Saulnier; we are grateful to Jacqueline Filliozat for contacting Mme Saulnier on our behalf.

concerned. Denis' edition was certainly intended as no more than a pioneering first attempt; more work must be done on other manuscripts before anything like a definitive version of this particular Māleyya text can be established. But it can already contribute to the further understanding of Pali in Southeast Asia, and to that of the literary history of the Pali tradition.

Denis' Introduction contains four sections: I — 'The Legend of P'raḥ Malay'; II — 'The thera Māleyyadeva — Sinhalese sources; III — 'The development of the legend — Southeast Asian texts'; IV — 'The Influence of the legend in Southeast Asian countries'; and two accounts of manuscripts: V — 'Description of the documents' [in Thai and Pali, on which his edition and translations were based]; and VI — 'A list of manuscripts of the P'raḥ Malay found at Luang Prabang and Vientiane'. There follow translations of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* (hereafter Mth-v), of Chapter 10 of the *Rasavāhinī*, and of the *P'raḥ Malay* [sometimes transliterated *Phra Malai*], and a Bibliography; and then the text of Mth-v, and of relevant sections of the *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthu*, transcribed from Sinhalese editions.¹ Some of the Introduction has been published, in the article mentioned above; for this reason, and also because new information has appeared in the thirty years since the thesis was written, what follows here is a summary (section III below), with additional information. A final section IV gives Denis' description of the manuscripts used, and explains how we have established the text of Mth-v from Denis' typescript.

¹ The former has not been edited in a European edition; the latter is forthcoming from the PTS, edited by Jacqueline Filliozat. On these texts, see now T. Rahula, 'The *Rasavāhinī* and the *Sahassavatthu*: a Comparison', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 7, 2, 1974, pp. 169–84.

II

It has become clear in recent years that certain features of Southeast Asian Pali may well not be scribal errors, as had been previously thought, but genuine characteristics of the language as it was used in later Pali literature from that region. As is clear from his comments translated below (p. 15), Denis was aware of this, referring to F. Martini's edition and translation of the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36, 1936, pp. 287–390), and G. Terral's edition and study of the '*Samuddaghosajātaka*: conte pali tiré du *Paññāsa-jātaka*' (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, 1956, pp. 249–351).¹ Mth-v provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis.

As far as the literary history of Pali is concerned, study of the text will contribute to our knowledge of later Pali materials, and specifically to our assessment of the place of non-canonical texts in Buddhist cultures. In one of the earliest references to the Māleyyadeva story, G. Cœdès cited it as an example of 'a certain number of apocryphal *suttas* and *jātakas* which must have been forged in Thailand' ('Note sur les ouvrages Palis composés en pays Thai', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 15 (3), 1915, p. 40 and note 3. He was followed in this assessment by A.B. Griswold ('A Warning to Evildoers', *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XX, 1957, p. 18 and note 1) and by H. Saddhātissa ('Pali Literature of Thailand', in L. Cousins et al. (eds.) *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, p. 215). Some manuscripts have the word *sutta* in their title; but neither the Pali version printed here, nor the translation of the Thai *P'raḥ Malay* given

¹ See also now P.S. Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (2 Vols., PTS 1981–83); K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 144, 178, and the works cited there; and C. Hallisey, '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical sutta on Nibbāna as a great city'. (See pp. 97 foll. below).

by Denis in his thesis, nor a translation of the 'royal' Thai version (*Phra Malai Kham Luang*) kindly made available to me by Bonnie Brereton show any sign of attempting to resemble a *sutta*: they are not spoken by the Buddha (indeed they open with an address to him), nor do they begin *evam me sutam*. Further empirical research into different versions is necessary; but also, on a theoretical level, it is by no means clear that the language of 'apocryphal forgeries' is helpful in addressing the issues here. Even in the case of texts which do resemble *sutta*-s formally, it may be that the form should be taken as a sign of literary genre rather than an attempt at historical deception. Moreover, the designation *sutta* for texts not included in the traditional *piṭaka* list cannot pre-judge the issue of whether their contents differ from those of 'the Canon', nor does it indicate whether or not the texts so called have been regarded in practice in the same way as 'the Canon'. For these reasons Charles Hallisey has suggested that we use a phrase of K.D. Somadasa, 'allegedly non-canonical', or perhaps some other such as 'deutero-canonical', to refer to texts of this kind ('*Tuṇḍilovāda*: an allegedly non-canonical *Sutta*', *JPTS* Vol. XV, 1990, pp. 156–58; '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical *sutta* on Nibbāna as a great city', [see pp. 97 foll. below]). In the case of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, the classificatory issue of its 'canonicity' is clear: it is neither in the *sutta* genre nor in the *piṭaka* lists. Whether or not we should regard it as being comparable to the 'canonical' texts in status and/or use is an empirical issue, to be decided — perhaps differently — for specific times and places.¹

The need for both further empirical research and further discussion of the descriptive concepts we employ is also evident in relation to the question of the origin and development of the story, an issue addressed by Denis in his article and in the Introduction to his

¹ See my remarks, and those cited from C. Keyes, in 'On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon', *JPTS* Vol. XV 1990, pp. 103–4.

thesis. I shall discuss empirical data in III below. Here I wish to quote some remarks of A.K. Ramanujan on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which I think apply very well to the range of stories referred to as those of Māleyya, Vessantara, and 'the' *Anāgatavaṃsa* (the name not of a text but of a family of texts), three closely associated strands of the Theravāda tradition. Ramanujan writes of the many different 'tellings' of the Rāma story:

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the word *tellings* to the usual terms *versions* or *variants* because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or *Ur-text* — usually Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But ... it is not always Vālmīki's narrative that is carried from one language to another.

The variety and number of different tellings lead him to suggest that

the cultural area in which the *Rāmāyaṇas* are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs ... [all] carry allusions to the Rāma story. These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context.¹

¹ 'Three Hundred Rāmāyaṇas', in P. Richman (ed.), *Many Rāmāyaṇas: the Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (University of California Press, 1991); quotes from pp. 25, 46.

Although the different tellings of the stories about Māleyya, Vessantara, the Bodhisatta Metteyya and other future Buddhas, are not so varied as those of the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ramanujan's choice of language here seems to me helpful in considering the origin and development of the Māleyya stories, as well as the relationships — both textual and contextual — between these stories and those of Metteyya and Vessantara. The particular telling found in this written text of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* seems most likely to have occurred first in Thailand; but as Denis shows, the 'pool of signifiers' from which this 'crystallization' was taken began in Sri Lanka.

III

In the first section of his Introduction Denis cites previous notices of the Māleyya stories: in chronological order these are: E. Burnouf, *Essai sur le pali* (Paris, 1826), pp. 209–12; G. Cœdès (as above); L. Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XVII, 1917, pp. 65–66; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la littérature siamoise* (Paris, 1951), p. 129; Prince Dhaninivat's review of a Thai re-publication of the 18th century 'Phra Malai, royal version', in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 1948 (1), pp. 69–72; A.B. Griswold (as above); and finally he refers to three tellings of the story, two in written form from Burma and Sri Lanka, and one oral chant ('une vieille mélodie') provided to him in writing by Ven. Wachissara from Southern Sri Lanka. The Burmese text is from the *Madhurarasavāhinī Vatthu*; the bibliographical details cited by Denis (as also in his article) can now be supplemented by H. Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts Part 2* (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXIII, 2, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 192–93. Denis cites the Sinhalese text from a manuscript in the British Museum, referred to in D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts of the British Museum* (London, 1900);

it consists in verses, in variant form, from the Mth-v, which Denis gave as Appendix D (see p. 63 below).¹ Most of these verses are in fact found in the *Sihalavatthupakarāṇa* (hereafter Sīh), a text which Denis consulted in a Sinhalese edition, and which has since been published by J. Ver Eecke (née Filliozat) in *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* Vol. CXXIII (Paris, 1980). Unfortunately he failed to notice that story III of that collection not only contains the verses, but indeed many of the elements of the Māleyya story as found in Mth-v.² In Ver Eecke's edition of Sīh III, she cites similar sections from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the first is entitled *bra māleyyasūtra*, with *māleyyadevatheravaṇṇa* (*sic*) in the colophon, and the second *bra māleyyadevattheraathavaṇṇana* (*sic*). In

¹ Denis gives the number wrongly in the first section, and in his article, as 109: it is 129 on pp. 142–43 (as correctly noted in the thesis p. 47 note 109). In Wickremasinghe's catalogue, the text is given as *Sampinḍi-mahānidāna*, 'an extract from a Pali text as yet unidentified, accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary'. In C.E. Godakumbara's *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (in the Royal Library) (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 200, what would appear to be the same verses — Godakumbara cites the last in Pali, which is almost identical to Denis' version — are found in a text called by him *Devadūtadharmaḍaṇāva* and dated at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th centuries. In K.D. Somadasa's *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. 2 (London, 1989) a number of texts with this or similar titles are found, none of which seem to contain the verses; on pp. 3–4, however, they are said to be in a work called *Sampinḍimahānidānaya* (*Maitreya-Maliyadeva-sakacchā*), described by Nevill as 'a series of thirteen Pali Gāthās, accompanied by a free enlarged translation in Sinhalese'. W.A. de Silva's *Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* (Colombo, 1938) contains three texts, nos. 1450–52, with this same title. In Saddhātissa's 'Pali Literature in Cambodia' (*JPTS* Vol. IX 1981), p. 181, he refers to a *Sampinḍita-mahānidāna*, 'known in Sri Lanka as *Mahāsampinḍitanidāna*'. This text does refer to Metteyya, but it seems to have nothing to do with the Māleyya story; it is discussed and translated in part in Saddhātissa's *Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas* (London, 1975), pp. 43–45.

² Ver Eecke notes that there seem to have been some unclaritys in the Sinhalese edition (op. cit., p. IV), which may perhaps account for the oversight.

her main text, story III ends with the words *metteyyavatthu tatiyam*. The modern Burmese bibliographical work *Piṭakattamain* states that Sīh was composed in Sri Lanka, but it is likely that its compilers 'had access to materials current in Southeast Asia',¹ and the title may well simply refer to the fact that most of its stories are set in Sri Lanka. This text must have been written before the first half of the 15th century, since it is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1442, but it remains uncertain whether some or all of it can be traced back to Sri Lanka.

It is, however, certain that some elements of the story — the pool of signifiers — can be traced back to Sri Lanka, and this is the subject of Denis' section II, on the Sinhalese sources for the elder Māleyyadeva. The lack of reference to Sīh story III renders this section somewhat out-dated. Denis refers to previous discussions of monks called by various similar names, by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1901, pp. 889 foll., and by A.P. Buddhadatta, in the introduction to his Sinhala script edition of the *Sahassavatthu*, concluding that it is impossible to tell whether all the uses of the name concern one and the same person; he thinks that there was an original historical figure to whose name legendary elements were added. The texts which deal with Maliya/Māleyya etc. are, in the order treated²: Mp I 38–39, Ps V 101–03, Vism 241–42 (= HOS ed. VIII 49), Ja IV 490, VI 30, Mhv XXXII 49–50, Mhv-ṭ 606. Although it is by no means clear that the similarity of names shows that we are dealing here with a single figure, historical or legendary, it is true that many of the stories concern excellence at preaching, which is one of Māleyya's characteristics in Mth-v. Denis discusses only story 41 of Sīh, which is quite different from Mth-v, although the name Māleyyadeva does appear in it and it does have a generic resemblance to Mth-v in so far as it concerns the

¹ K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 154.

² Abbreviations used are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

value of giving.¹ He then describes three stories found both in the *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhinī*; the former text is mentioned in the same inscription of 1442 mentioned above, and the latter is dated to the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.² The first resembles story 41 of Sīh; the second concerns giving, and has Maliyadeva (as the name appears there) conversing with Sakka on that subject. The faint analogy to the Māleyya story found in these stories is much stronger in the third, Sah story 77 and Ras Chapter 10, 1. Here Maliyadeva visits the Cūlāmaṇi shrine in heaven with a layman, sees various gods and explains to the layman the good deeds done by them on earth which resulted in their rebirth there. At the end Metteyya appears³ and gives the layman a celestial robe; the latter returns to earth, and thereafter dies and is reborn in the Tusita heaven. (Ras is more elaborate than Sah, but the essentials of the story are the same.)

The third section, on the development of the legend in Southeast Asia, can be improved on now thanks to the work of Bonnie Brereton: see her article 'Some comments on a Northern Thai *Phra Mala* Text dated C.S. 878 (A.D. 1516)', forthcoming in *Journal of the Siam Society*; and her recent doctorate thesis at the University of Michigan, 'The *Phra Malai* Theme in Thai Buddhist Literature: a study of three texts' (1992). The thesis makes clear that, as mentioned above, there are a number of different 'tellings' of the stories involving Māleyya, Metteyya and Vessantara, in Pali and various vernaculars, some of them closely intertwined. Brereton's article enables us to improve on Denis' dating. The text discussed there, which very closely parallels Mth-v, is

¹ Denis says that the title of the story is *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, which follows one of the titles given by the Sinhalese edition; Ver Eecke (op. cit., pp. V–VI) gives also *vaṇibbakayāgudāko*.

² K.R. Norman, op. cit., p. 155.

³ The Ras version given by Denis contains the very surprising phrase *aneka-satapaccekabuddhabodhisatthehi ca parivuto*, used of Metteyya.

in the form of a *nissaya*: that is, what is presented as a Thai 'commentary' on a Pali text. One might conclude that a version of Mth-v in Pali was in existence at that time, but it is by no means clear that the *nissaya* form does not result in fact from a Thai story grouped around Pali phrases invented for the sake of linguistic and religious prestige. But clearly the contents of Mth-v, in whatever linguistic form, were already in existence in the early 16th century in something close to the Mth-v version. Many other aspects of Denis' treatment remain valuable, however. He says that although the story of Māleyya was also known in Burma, the texts through which we can come to know it are primarily preserved in Thailand and Cambodia. (Information on mss. known to Denis can be found in his article, pp. 330–31 note 6. The manuscripts from which Buddhaddatta made his Sinhalese edition of *Sih*, which Ver Eecke then transliterated in the *Ee*, were all in Burmese script.) The general structure of the story is, as he says, already present in the *Ras* and *Sah* versions. Certain narrative elements and emphases are changed in the Southeast Asian versions, and others added. The principal additions are, (i) in vernacular versions, extensive descriptions of the hells visited by Māleyya (which themselves draw on materials such as the *Nimi-jātaka* and the visits to hell by Moggallāna in the *Mahāvastu*¹), and in both vernacular and Pali versions; (ii) more elaborate tellings of the previous good deeds done by the inhabitants of heaven and of Metteyya's bodhisatta-career; (iii) the connection between hearing recitations of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and rebirth at the time of Metteyya; (iv) the account by Metteyya of the degeneration and renewal of religion (itself taken, sometimes word-for-word, from the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which Denis curiously fails to mention); and (v) Metteyya's account of the paradisiacal conditions which will obtain

¹ This is also a feature, Denis remarks, of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*: see now the translations by G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes* (*Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. LXXXIX, 1973) and F.E. and M.B. Reynolds, *The Three Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982).

when he is reborn on earth. Denis states that many of the developments of the part of the story concerning Metteyya are found in sections of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra*,¹ a 14th century Sinhala work which is otherwise a translation of *Ras*. Given that the dating and provenance of these stories are uncertain, it cannot be decided if this Sinhala version is an indigenous creation or taken from texts originating in Southeast Asia.

The association between the Māleyya story and that of Vessantara has been discussed by S.J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults of Northeast Thailand* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), and L. McClung, *The Vessantara Jātaka: paradigm for a Buddhist Utopia* (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1975). Denis cites a Burmese author of the early 20th century who states that the two were recited together, and a Burmese inscription from 1201, which Luce interpreted as referring to successive recitations of the two texts.² Brereton (1992) further explores the connection; manuscripts often contain the two stories together.

In the short fourth section, on the influence of the story in Southeast Asia, Denis discusses the times and occasions at which Māleyya texts were recited (the end of the Rainy Season Retreat, marriages and funerals, merit-making ceremonies) and adds some information about the manner of reciting the texts which is of interest not only for the social history of these stories, but also for our appreciation of the relation between written text and performance context. He cites K.E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities* (Bangkok, 1939), p. 233, who reports that normally there were three reciters, one for Māleyya, one for Indra (Sakka) and one for Metteyya;

¹ According to W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956), p. xxxv note 2, called the *Metteyya-vastu*.

² Denis cites G.H. Luce, *Inscriptions of Burma* (n.d.), Portfolio I Plate XXII lines 1–7.

and states that skilled reciters of the text could gain a considerable reputation (he cites R. Lingat, 'Le Wat Rajapratistha', *Artibus Asiae* 1961 Vol. XXIV p. 232). Denis made a tape recording of one of the last celebrated reciters of the Māleyya story then living in Bangkok. He was a famous reciter of the 'Liké' form of 'popular comic theatre'. The passages chanted were from the earlier part of the Thai *P'rah Malay*, concerning hells and the tortures endured by their inhabitants: the first two passages were chanted by a monk in an ordinary tone; the next nine by the reciter, 'in the Petchaburi tone. The style is more complex and dramatic'; the last seven passages were chanted by him in a manner resembling that of the 'Liké' theatre. Denis adds that on a number of occasions decrees were passed against this manner of chanting the *P'rah Malay*, and goes on to give examples:

'These recitations led often to excess. The crowd liked reciters who acted the part of their characters and did not hesitate to make use of comic gestures and tones. A decree of 1801 legislated on the subject: 'on the occasion of funerals, the "master of ceremonies" is forbidden to invite monks to recite the P'rah Malai; only the P'rah Aph'ith'amma [the *Abhidhamma*] is to be recited in an ordinary tone, not in the Indian, Chinese, European or Môn tones If there are laypeople who want to recite the P'rah Malay, they may do so, but should avoid a comic tone [un ton plaisant (drôle)]'

A law of 1782 had already warned monks against reciting the P'rah Malay and similar texts in a theatrical manner. It also throws an interesting light on the popularity of devotion to Metteyya at that time. It stated that "many people endeavour to accomplish all kinds of meritorious acts so as to be able to meet [Metteyya], according to the instructions given to P'rah Malay by [Metteyya] himself, who recommended that everyone revere and listen to the *Vessantara-jātaka* in One Thousand Verses in order to meet him in the future Monks who preach the Law and laity who listen to the [*Vessantara-jātaka*] should

use the Pali [text] and the Commentaries; if they want to meet [Metteyya] in the future, they should not use rhyming texts, and the comical, theatrical manner of representing P'rah Malay, which is an offence against the Vinaya".'

IV

In the fifth section of his Introduction, Denis describes the Thai and Pali manuscripts he used, and his reasons for making the edition of the Pali Mth-v as he did; his remarks concerning the latter are:

'For the Pali text [of Mth-v] we were able to use five manuscripts:

1. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (Mss Pali No. 147), of which we have a photocopy. It is written in 'mūl' characters engraved on ola-leaves. There are 24 ola-leaves, thus 48 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page contains only the title: 'Brah Māleyyadevatthera- vatthum, 1 ph'uk (1 bundle). This is without doubt the best preserved manuscript, and we reproduce it as the main text. We refer to it as M1.
2. A manuscript in the Institut Bouddhique de Pnom-Penh [*sic*], given to the Institut in 1930 by the Daṃnap monastery in Kampong Chnnang [*sic*] province. It is written in 'mūl' characters on 26 ola-leaves, thus 52 pages, with 5 lines per page. The Ven. Brah Grū Saṅghasatthā P.S. Dharmārāma, of the Lycée Boudhique of Pnom-Penh, has been kind enough to copy this text for us in 'mūl' characters and to send us the copy. We had asked him to transcribe it faithfully without standardising the Pali. He writes that the manuscript cannot be old, as it is easily legible. We have ascertained that the text of this manuscript is very similar to that of the Bangkok manuscript, with only one interpolation [see text p. 26 note 2]. We refer to it as M2.

3. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cf. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Pali de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. 2e fasc. No. 326) (gift of the Société des Missions Étrangères). It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 18 ola-leaves, thus 36 pages, with one line per page, but the last ola leaf is for protection only and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya Sutra* [sic]. The text is written in a good, regular hand. The title is in different handwriting and seems to have been added afterwards. Notes in Cambodian have been added on the first and second pages. This manuscript contains quite significant variations from M1. We have had to reproduce entire passages at the end of the notes [Appendices A, B, C]. We refer to it as M3.

4. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Paris, No. 658 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is in 'mūl' script on ola-leaves. There are 12 ola-leaves, thus 24 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page has the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera* [sic]. The text is incomplete and only covers the first part (the arrival of the 12 Junior Gods) and the beginning of the second part, finishing in the middle of a sentence. We refer to it as M4.

5. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, No. 659 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 13 ola-leaves, but five are for protection only at the end, and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera atthavaṇṇanā* [sic]. There are therefore only 7 ola-leaves left, thus 14 pages, with 5 lines per page. It is the shortest text; it is very incomplete, only covering the last part, and even the beginning of this part is missing. It begins in the middle of a sentence. This is not a continuation of No. 658 [i.e. M4], as one might think. The writing is neat and regular, very different from the preceding manuscript. Moreover the texts are not continuous. We refer to it as M5.

None of these manuscripts carries a date. A. Cabaton, in his *Catalogue*, dates manuscript No. 326 [i.e. M3] to the 18th century, and Nos. 658 and 659 [M4 and M5] to the 19th. We do not know on what he based these dates.

One can apply to the Pali of our manuscripts the remarks made by G. Terral (op. cit., pp. 263–64) on the *Samuddaghosajātaka*, and by F. Martini (op. cit., pp. 370 foll.) on the *Dasa-Bodhisatta-Uddesa*. Firstly, there are many copying errors. One constantly finds short *i* and *u* instead of long *ī* and *ū*, dentals instead of cerebrals and vice-versa, aspirates instead of non-aspirates and vice-versa, etc. Moreover, syllables are often omitted, words miscopied (*karonto* in place of *kathento*), etc. In addition, it seems that the Pali of our texts has been strongly influenced by the Indo-Chinese languages spoken by copyists fairly ignorant of Pali, and perhaps even by the authors of our texts. We have not undertaken a systematic survey of all the grammatical anomalies, which would only repeat the studies of F. Martini and G. Terral. As far as possible we have transcribed the texts, with all their anomalies, such as we have found them in the manuscripts, restricting ourselves to adding occasionally, in parentheses, certain syllables which had evidently been omitted through negligence. We thought that these texts were sufficiently comprehensible transcribed as they are, without being standardised, and could thus contribute to future comparisons or studies carried out by qualified philologists.'

The text given here — which has been prepared for publication by K.R. Norman and myself — follows Denis' edition as closely as possible, for the same reasons. On some occasions we have corrected what seemed in our judgement to be obviously typographical errors: for example, on p. 26 line 6 his typescript had *uppapajjati* in place of

upapajjati. It seems unlikely that all his mss. would have had the same mis-spelling, so we have assumed it is a typographical error by Denis. Similarly on p. 36 we have given *samattam* on line 8 for (for his *samataṃ*) and on line 12 *-candamaṇḍalo* (for his *-candamandalo*, since he gives *-maṇḍalo* elsewhere). Obviously we may not have made the right decision in every case. Where we found unusual spellings used consistently, e.g. *Tāmbapaṇṇi* (for *Tambapaṇṇi*) we have left them as they were. Denis' method of making an edition was perhaps a little unusual, since he transcribed M1 throughout, even where other mss. contained clearly what would usually be thought to be better readings: for example, on p. 21 line 9 he gives *eva sammacintesi* where M2 and M4 have *evaṃ samacintesi*, which would be correct in standard Pali. In this particular case one might decide that the forms in M1 and M3 are simply errors; in other cases it might be better to assume that we have genuinely variant forms. In the present state of our knowledge, both of this text (and the family of texts from which it comes) and of Southeast Asian Pali more generally, it seems more prudent to present what is clearly not a critical edition, and hope that future scholarship will be able to clarify the usages involved so that — when more manuscripts are consulted — the making of a critical edition may become feasible. (There has been, of course, much debate about the very notion of a 'critical edition' in relation to South and Southeast Asian materials.) In my translation I have noted on the few occasions where it seemed necessary that I have adopted a different reading from that in M1; for the most part the issues involved in the variant readings will be obvious to those who know Pali, and irrelevant to those who do not.

May this publication honour the memory of Father Denis, and add to the scholarly reputation already acquired by his *La Lokapaññatti et*

les idées cosmologiques de Bouddhisme ancien (Atelier Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille, 1977)

Chicago

Steven Collins

BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERA VATTHUṂ

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.¹

suranaramahiṇiyaṃ² buddhasettḥaṃ namitvā³

sugatapabbhavaṃ dhammaṃ⁴ sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā⁵

sakalajanappasādaṃ Mālayyaṃ⁶ nāma vatthum

paramanayavicittaṃ sāmāsā ārabhissan ti.⁷

atite⁸ kira⁹ ratanapatiṭṭhānabhūte Laṅkā dīpasāṅkhāte¹⁰ Tāmbapaṇṇidīpe¹¹
paramiddhiṇāṇena pākāṭo¹² Māleyya devatthero nāma eko thero¹³
Kambojagāmaṃ nissāya Rohanajanapade viḥāsi.¹⁴ so pana¹⁵ thero
punappunaṃ niraye paccamānaṃ¹⁶ narakānaṃ¹⁷ pavuttim āharitvā
tesaṃ ṇātakānaṃ kathetvā dānādīni puṇṇāni kārāpetvā tesaṃ uddissa
puṇṇānumodanena laddhapuṇṇaphalena¹⁸ deva lokaparāyane karonto
tattḥ' eva viḥāsi. so pi iddhibalena deva lokaṃ ca yama lokaṃ ca gacchati.
deva loka ratanattaye pasannānaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ mahantaṃ

¹ M4: om.

² M4: suranamahiṇiyaṃ

³ M2: buddhasettḥaṃ ca namitvā

⁴ M2: sugatapabbhāvaṃ dhammaṃ

⁵ M2: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca natvā; M4: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā

⁶ M2 & M4: Māleyyaṃ

⁷ M2: ārabhissan ti; M3: om. four preceding lines and replaces by namatthu;
M4: ārebhissam

⁸ M3 & M4: atite

⁹ M3: om. kira

¹⁰ M3 & M4: om. these two words

¹¹ M2: Tāmbapaṇṇiya dīpe; M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadīpe; M4: Tāmbapaṇṇiyam dīpe

¹² M3 & M4: om. these two words

¹³ M3: om. eko thero; M4: om. thero

¹⁴ M3 & M4: pavisi

¹⁵ M3: om. all of the passage between so pana thero and tasmiṃ gāme; M4: om.
all of the passage between so pana thero and so thero pubbaṇhasamaye

¹⁶ M2: paccamānaṃ

¹⁷ M2: narakānaṃ

¹⁸ M2: puṇṇāphalena

isiriyaṃ¹ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca upāsako asukā ca upāsikā asukasmiṃ² nāma devaloke nibbattetvā mahāsampattim anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. yamaloke pāpamanussānaṃ mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca asukā ca asukasmiṃ niraye nibbattetvā mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. manussā sāsane pasīdanti pāpāni na karonti dānādīni puññāni nātakānaṃ kālakatānaṃ uddissimsu te uddissa puññānumodanena laddhapuññaphalena devalokaparāyaṇā honti. ath’ ekadivasaṃ so thero pubbaṇhasamaye utthāy’ āsanā³ pattacīvaram ādāya piṇḍapātaṃ gahanatthāya gāmaṃ pāvīsi. tasmīṃ gāme⁴ eko daliddakapuriso⁵ mātu-upatthānaṃ⁶ karoti. tasmīṃ kāle so gāmato nikkhamitvā⁷ nahāpanatthāya⁸ ekaṃ saraṃ patvā tattha nahātvā⁹ aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā¹⁰ sarā uttaritvā¹¹ maggaṃ paṭipajji.¹² tadā so therāṃ āgacchantāṃ¹³ santaṃ dantaṃ suguttaṃ¹⁴ jitindriyaṃ uttamarūpadharaṃ pattahatthaṃ disvā samuppanna-pītipāmojjo yena thero ten’ upasaṅkami¹⁵ upasaṅkamitvā dasa-nakhasamodhānakarapuṭakamalo¹⁶ therāṃ vanditvā¹⁷ saddhāya

¹ M2: issariyaṃ

² M2: asuko ca asukā ca asukasmiṃ nāma

³ M4: *om. utthāy’ āsanā*

⁴ M2: pavīsi; M3: tadā tasmīṃ gāmaṃ

⁵ M2: dalikapuriso; M3: dalīdakapuriso; M4: daliddhapuriso

⁶ M3: māta-upathākam; M4: mātu-upatthākam

⁷ M3: *om. gāmato nikkhamitvā and adds dalikapuriso*

⁸ M2: nahāpanatthāya

⁹ M2: nahātvā

¹⁰ M3: *replaces tāni gahetvā by tattha niluppalapupphāni gahetvā*

¹¹ M3: sara-utaritvā; M4: sarāni utaritvā

¹² M3: paṭipajji

¹³ M3: āgacchante

¹⁴ M3: sugatajītiindriyaṃ; M4: sugutaṃ

¹⁵ M3: ten’ upasaṅkamitvā

¹⁶ M3: *om. upasaṅkamitvā dasa ... kamalo and replaces it by pana; M4: om. dasa ... kamalo and replaces it by ca pana*

¹⁷ M3: vandhitvā

bahulatāya¹ aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni therassa hatthe datvā paṇidhānaṃ² karonto imaṃ gāthaṃ āha³:

iminā pupphadānena yattha yattha⁴ bhavāmi ’haṃ

jātisatasahassesu mā daliddo⁵ bhavāmi ’han ti.⁶

thero aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni⁷ gahetvā anumodanaṃ karonto imaṃ gāthaṃ āha⁸:

yaṃ yaṃ lūkhaṃ paṇitaṃ⁹ vā deti pasannamānaso¹⁰

vipākaṃ tassa dānassa¹¹ yathā-icchā samijjhati ti.¹²

thero anumodanaṃ katvā¹³ eva sammacintesi¹⁴ “imāni aṭṭhaniluppala-pupphāni kuhiṃ āropessāmi¹⁵ cetiyaṃ vā udāhu upari pabbate vā parinibbute vā¹⁶ mahābodhiyaṃ¹⁷ vā bhagavato anuttaradhamma-cakkaṇṇapavattanaṭṭhāne vā” ti.¹⁸ puna cintesi “etāni thānāni sattakkhattum eva pūjesiṃ¹⁹ yan nūnāhaṃ devaloke Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ pūjessāmi” ti.

¹ M3 & M4: bahulatāya

² M4: (pa)nidhānaṃ

³ M3: therassa adāsi aditthānakaronto āha *instead of* therassa ... imaṃ gāthaṃ āha

⁴ M4: yattha tattha

⁵ M3 & M4: daliddho

⁶ M3: bhavāmi ’ham

⁷ M3: niluppalapupphāni

⁸ M3: *om. imaṃ gāthaṃ*

⁹ M3: sukhaṃ paṇitaṃ

¹⁰ M3: pasananāpi dentiya

¹¹ M3: tena puññavipākena

¹² M3: samijjhatu

¹³ M3: karonto

¹⁴ M2 & M4: evaṃ samacintesi; M3: eva samacintesi

¹⁵ M3: ā(ro)pessāmi *and adds here* udāhu

¹⁶ M3: *om. parinibbute vā; M4: om. uparipabbate vā parinibbute vā*

¹⁷ M4: mahā(bo)dhiyaṃ vā

¹⁸ M3: pavattitaṭṭhāne vā *and om. ti*

¹⁹ M2: pūjesi; M3: satam eva pūjessāmi; M4: pūjessi

thero¹ attanā cintitasamanantaram eva abhiññāpādakaṃ catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā tato vutthāya anilapathatalaṃ² ullaṅghitvā accharāsaṅghātamattam eva sattaratanaviccittatalabhūmibhāgapatiṃaṇḍita-vilasitadidasadevanagaramajjhe Sakkena devarāññā bhagavato attanā kappāsapicutulasadisamudutalajālavicittakaragahitena asinā chinditaparamamoliṃ “sac’ āham³ imāya pabbajjāya paramasambodhiṃ patvā buddho bhavissāmi mama molīṃ bhūmiyaṃ⁴ mā patatū” ti⁵ adhiṭṭhānena bhūmiyaṃ apatamānaṃ⁶ ākāse yeva pakkhipitvā sakasirasā vahatena suvaṇṇacaṅgoṭakavarena sampatiṇṇhitvā sakalasuragaṇānaṃ pūjanatthāya sasādarapatiṭṭhāpitaṃ manorammaṃ indanīlamanimayaṃ⁷ Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṅgaṇaṃ patvā aṭṭhanīluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā⁸ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pañcapatiṭṭhitaṇa⁹ vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge¹⁰ nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

abhiññāpādakaṃ jhānaṃ samāpajjitvā jhānato
vutthāya hemamaṃseva¹¹ nabhaṃ uttamma tāvade¹²

¹ M3: *replaces the passage between thero and* tasmiṃ Sakko devarājā *by* thero tadahe yeva vehāsaṃ abhūgantvā apurasamaṅghātamattam pi Vejayanapāsādassa purato aṭṭhāsi thero cetiyaṃ disvā somanassapatto cetiyaṃ vandhitvā niluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vandhitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi Sakko devarājā; M4: *replaces the same passage by* thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā accharāsaṅghātamantāppi ... (then as M3) ... aṭṭhāsi tasmiṃ khaṇe Sakko devarājā

² M2: anīlapathāṭṭhalaṃ

³ M2: saccāhaṃ

⁴ M2: *om.* bhūmiyaṃ

⁵ M2: mā pattatū ti

⁶ M2: appattamānaṃ

⁷ M2: *om.* mayaṃ

⁸ M2: pūjivā

⁹ M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa

¹⁰ M2: bhāgena

¹¹ M2: haṃso va

¹² M2: uggama tāvad eva

accharāsaṅghātamattam va Vejayantassa purato¹
cetiyaṃ upagantvāna pūjivā va avandi so ti.

tasmiṃ khaṇe Sakko devarājā saha parivārehi āgantvā bhagavato dakkhiṇadāṭṭhaṇ ca Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṇ ca nānāvidhehi mālāgandhāvilepanādihi pūjeṭvā² taṃ theram nisinnaṃ disvā upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā³ ekamantaṃ nisīdi.⁴ sabbā devaparisā ca cetiyaṃ vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā⁵ theram vanditvā samantato nisīdiṃsu. sabbā pi devaccharā⁶ cetiyaṃ pūjeṭvā vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pañcapatiṭṭhitaṇa⁷ theram vanditvā samantato nisīdiṃsu. Sakko devarājā theram pucchi⁸ “bhante, kuto agacchathā” ti.⁹ “mahārāja, ahaṃ Jambūdīpāgato ’mhi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya” ti.¹⁰ puna thero Sakkaṃ devārājānaṃ pucchi “kiṃ tayā Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ patiṭṭhāpitaṃ,¹¹ mahārāja” ti.¹² “āma, bhante, mayā devānaṃ pūjanatthāya patiṭṭhāpitaṃ” ti.¹³ thero “devarāja, ime devā manussaloke kusalakammaṃ katvā dibbasukhaṃ anubhavitum¹⁴ idha nibbattā¹⁵ idāni kasmā puññaṃ karontī” ti pucchi.¹⁶ “bhante, ime devā kusalakammaṃ katvā upari devalokaṃ gantukāmā va honti.¹⁷ bhante, ye keci devā appapuñña te¹⁸ na ciraṃ

¹ M2: pūrato

² M2: pūjivā

³ M4: vandhitvā

⁴ M3 & M4: aṭṭhāsi

⁵ M2: *adds* pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa; M3: *adds* pacchā

⁶ M2: deva-acchāra; M3 & M4: *om. the passage between* sabbā pi devaccharā *and* Sakko devarājā

⁷ M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa

⁸ M3: Sakko theram samapucchi

⁹ M3: āgato ’sī ti

¹⁰ M3: vandanatthāya

¹¹ M3: kiṃ tayā tidaṇca ṭhāpitaṃ; M4: ṭhāpitaṃ

¹² M2: *om.* mahārāja ti

¹³ M3: āma bhante ti ahaṃ ṭhāpetvā devānaṃ pūjanatthāya; M4: ṭhāpitaṃ ti

¹⁴ M2: anubhavanti

¹⁵ M3 & M4: icchantā

¹⁶ M3: *om.* pucchi

¹⁷ M3: gantukāmā *and om.* va honti ti

sagge ʔhitā¹ yathā appadhaññā done ʔhapitā² khippam eva khiyanti.³ bhante, ye keci devā bahūpuññā te⁴ ciraṃ sagge⁵ ʔhitā yathā bahūdhaññā⁶ koṭṭhe ʔhapitā ciraṃ ʔhatvā na khiyanti.⁷ bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā bahūsippā bahuñāṇino⁸ kasivanijjādīni karontā jīvantā na dukkarā⁹ honti¹⁰ tathā appapuññā devā phalaṃ¹¹ bhuñjitvā puna paraṃ puññaṃ¹² katvā pacchā saggasampattim¹³ anubhavanti. bhante, yathā bahūdhaññā janā asippā¹⁴ aññāṇino¹⁵ kasivanijjādīni akarontā¹⁶ khīṇadhaññā¹⁷ pacchā¹⁸ daliddakatarā¹⁹ honti evaṃ pi bahūpuññā²⁰ devā²¹ phalaṃ anubhavanti paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā²² pacchā daliddakappattā²³ jātā. bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā asippā aññāṇino kasivanijjādīni akarontā daliddakatarā honti evaṃ pi appapuññā devā²⁴ phalaṃ anubhavanti paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā daliddakatarā honti. bhante, yathā

¹⁸ M3 & M4: *om. te*; M3: *apuññā*

¹ M2: *sagge ʔhitā and om. text as far as yathā bahūdhaññā koṭṭhe ʔhapitā*

² M3: *yathā dhaññāno ʔhapitā*; M4: *yathā dhaññā done ʔhapitā*

³ M3: *khippam eva khayyanti*

⁴ M3 & M4: *om. te*

⁵ M3: *sage*

⁶ M3: *yathā dhaññā*

⁷ M3: *na khayyanti*

⁸ M3: *adds honti*

⁹ M3: *dukkarā*

¹⁰ M3 & M4: *om. honti*

¹¹ M3: *appapuññā janā phalaṃ*; M4: *appapuññā phalaṃ*

¹² M3: *(pu)ññaṃ*

¹³ M2: *saggaṃ sampattim*; M3: *sukhaṃ sampattim*

¹⁴ M3: *appasippā aññāṇino*

¹⁵ M3: *adds honti*

¹⁶ M3: *karontā*

¹⁷ M3: *om. text as far as bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍhanti*

¹⁸ M2 & M4: *om. pacchā*

¹⁹ M2: *daliddakā*; M4: *daliddhakā*

²⁰ M4: *bahū(pu)ññā*

²¹ M4: *om. devā*

²² M4: *na puññaṃ katvā*

²³ M4: *daliddhakappattā*

²⁴ M4: *om. devā*

bahūdhaññā janā¹ bahūsippā bahuñāṇino kasivanijjādīni karontā bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍhanti² evaṃ pi bahūpuññā devā³ dānasilādīni karontā uddhamsoṭā vaḍhanti⁴ yāva nibbāna⁵ ti.⁵ taṃ sutvā thero pasīditvā Sujampatiṃ⁶ pucchi “mahārāja, sabbe devā bhagavato⁷ cetiyaṃ vanditum āgatā; kim Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto āgamissati” ti.⁸ “āma, bhante” ti. “kadā āgamissati” ti.⁹ “bhante, aṭṭhamiyaṃ vā cātuddasiyaṃ vā¹⁰ paṇṇarasiyaṃ vā Metteyyo cetiyaṃ vanditum¹¹ āgato” ti. “tena hi ajja aṭṭhamiyaṃ kim so āgamissati” ti.¹² “āma, bhante” ti.¹³ evaṃ¹⁴ there Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente yeva¹⁵ eko devaputto sataparivārehi saddhiṃ cetiyaṃ vandanaṭṭhāya āgato. thero taṃ devaputtam āgataṃ¹⁶ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi¹⁷ “devarāja, ayaṃ kim Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.¹⁸ “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,

¹ M2: *om. janā*

² M3: *bhiññoso mattāya vadanti*

³ M3: *janā*; M4: *om. devā*

⁴ M2: *vaḍḍhanti*; M3: *vadanti*

⁵ M4: *yā(va) nibbāna ti*

⁶ M4: *Sujappatiṃ (M4 almost always uses this form, which will no longer be noted)*

⁷ M3: *bhagavato (sic)*

⁸ M3: *āgamissati ti*

⁹ M2: *kadāgamissati ti*; M3: *kadāgamissati ti*; M4: *kadāci āgamissati ti*

¹⁰ M3 & M4: *cātuddasiyaṃ*

¹¹ M3: *vanditu*; M4: *vandhitum*

¹² M3: *aṭṭhamiyaṃ va so āgato ti*

¹³ M3: *om. āma bhante ti*

¹⁴ M2: *evaṃ theram Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente*; M3: *thero Sakkena saddhiṃ kathento*; M4: *therena Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente*

¹⁵ M3: *taṃ khaṇaṃ ñeva eko devaputto sataparivāro cetiyaṃ ...*

¹⁶ M3: *āgataṃ*; M4: *ā(ga)taṃ*

¹⁷ M3: *om. Sujampatiṃ and puts pucchi at the end of the sentence*; M4: *om. Sujampatiṃ*

¹⁸ M2: *kim ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto ti*; M3: *ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto ti*; M4: *ayaṃ so Metteyyo bodhisatto ti*

ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puñṇān” ti. Sakko tassa puñṇakammaṃ ācikkhanto¹ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante² so mānuse jāto³ daliddo⁴ tiṇṇahārako⁵
bhataṃ pūtaṃ ca⁶ bhuñjitvā kāke dajj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ⁷
ettakaṃ puñṇakammaṃ pi katvā so mānuse pana⁸
maraṇante saritvā taṃ⁹ tena so upapajjati ti.

tena vuttaṃ:

kākādike tiracchāne dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass’ eva dānassa phalaṃ satam labhati dāyako ti.

so devaputto āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā pācīnadisābhāge nisīdi.¹⁰ tadanantare eko devaputto saḥassaparivārehi¹¹ saddhim āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ pūjanatthāya sarīrobhasena sabbā disā obhāseti.¹² thero taṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi¹³ “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ¹⁴ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puñṇān” ti. Sakko tassa puñṇakammaṃ ācikkhanto¹⁵ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante so mānuse jāto Gopālo nāma māṇavo¹⁶

¹ M2: pakāsetvā; M3: āvikaronto

² M2: *puts here a part of the text which appears later in the other manuscripts*

³ M2 & M4: manussajāto; M3: mānaso jāto

⁴ M3: dalido; M4: daliddho

⁵ M4: tiṇṇahārako

⁶ M3: bhataṃ pūtaṃ ca

⁷ M4: dajj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ

⁸ M2: so mānusse pana; M3: so manuso puna; M4: so manusso (pu)na

⁹ M3: saritvāna

¹⁰ M3: aṭṭhāsi tadanantare nisīdi

¹¹ M3: saḥassaparivāre

¹² M3: sabbadisā obhāseti

¹³ M3: Sujampati pucchi

¹⁴ M3: *om. kiṃ*

¹⁵ M3: āvikaronto

¹⁶ M3 & M4: māṇavo

bhuñjanto attano bhāgaṃ¹ deti gopālakassa ca²
tena dānena so jāto saḥassaparivārito³
cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya saḥassen’ eva⁴ āgato ti.

tena vuttaṃ:

asīle appapuñṇesu⁵ dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass’ eva dānassa phalaṃ saḥassaṃ paṭilabhati ti.

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā pacchimadisābhāge nisīdi.⁶ aparo devaputto dasaḥassaparivārehi⁷ āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsenā⁸ sakala-cetiyaṃ aṇḍalam obhāseti.⁹ thero taṃ¹⁰ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ devaputto¹¹ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,¹² mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “mahārāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puñṇān” ti. Sakko tassa¹³ puñṇakammaṃ kathento¹⁴ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhikkhaṃ¹⁵ datvā pure bhante sāmaṇerassa sīlino¹⁶
tena puñṇavipākena cavitvā saggaṃ āgato ti.¹⁷

tena vuttaṃ:

¹ M2: bhaggaṃ; M3: bhattaṃ; M4: bhagaṃ

² M4: gopālassa ca

³ M4: saḥassaparivāro

⁴ M3: saḥassen’ eva

⁵ M3: asīlesu apuñṇesu

⁶ M3: aṭṭhāsi

⁷ M2: *adds* saddhim; M3: dasaḥassaparivāro

⁸ M2: tisaṇṇarobhāsenā; M3: sarīrobhasena

⁹ M3: obhāsetvā

¹⁰ M[*number omitted in Denis’ ms.*]: *om. taṃ*

¹¹ M2: *om. kiṃ*; M3 & M4: *om. kiṃ devaputto*

¹² M3 & M4: kattamo

¹³ M2: *adds* vacanaṃ sutvā

¹⁴ M2: ācikkhanto

¹⁵ M3: bhattaṃ

¹⁶ M3: sīlavanto

¹⁷ M3: idha-m-āgato

puthujane¹ sīlavante dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass' eva dasasahassaṃ phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.²

so āgantvā³ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-
mālādīhi pūjetvā⁴ dakkhiṇadisābhāge nisīdi.⁵ aparō devaputto vīsati-
sahassaparivārehi⁶ āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsenā ābharaṇena⁷ ca
ākāsamaṇḍalam obhāseti.⁸ thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi
“devarāja,⁹ ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo¹⁰ bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,
bhante” ti. “katamo,¹¹ mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,
ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa
puññakammaṃ pakāsentō¹² imaṃ gāthaṃ āha:

bhikkhaṃ datvā tadā eso piṇḍapātikabhikkhuno¹³
ten' eva puññakammena cavitvā saggaṃ āgato ti.¹⁴

tena vuttaṃ:

bhikkhuno sīlavantassa¹⁵ dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass' eva vīsatisahassaṃ¹⁶ phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.¹⁷

¹ M2 & M4: puthujjane

² M3: tass' eva dānaphalaṃ dasasahassaṃ labhati

³ M2: gantvā

⁴ M4: adds ca

⁵ M3: aṭṭhāsi

⁶ M3: parivā(re)hi

⁷ M3: om. ābharaṇena

⁸ M3: obhāsetvā; M4: obhāseti ti

⁹ M2: devarāja

¹⁰ M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto

¹¹ M3: kattamo

¹² M3: kathento; M4: pa(saṃ)sento

¹³ M2, M3 & M4: piṇḍipātikabhikkhuno

¹⁴ M3: idha-m-āgato; M4: saggaṃ āgato 'sī ti

¹⁵ M4: sillavantassa

¹⁶ M4: adds parivāro

¹⁷ M3: vīsati pañcasahassaṃ pi phalaṃ labbhati dāyako

so āgantvā¹ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
uttaradisābhage nisīdi.² tadā eko devaputto tiṃsasahassaparivārehi³
cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi
“devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo⁴ bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,
bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.⁵ “devarāja,
ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa⁶
puññakammaṃ kathento āha⁷:

Anurādhapure pubbe sucikammena jīvati
bahūpuññakaro⁸ eso tantavāyo ti vissuto.⁹
matakānaṃ sarīraṇi¹⁰ jhāpetvāna tahiṃ tahiṃ
tam uddissa dakkhiṇaṃ ca sīlavantesu deti so¹¹
bhesajjaṃ piṇḍipātaṃ ca¹² cīvaraṃ sayanāsaṇaṃ.¹³
ten' eva puññakammena¹⁴ uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁵

so āgantvā¹⁶ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-
mālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. atha¹⁷ aparō devaputto cattālīsa-

¹ M2: gantvā

² M3: aṭṭhāsi

³ M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the phrase

⁴ M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto

⁵ M3: bhante

⁶ M3: devaputtassa

⁷ M3: puts here the verses Haritālo mahāsetṭhi ... etc. which, in the other
manuscripts, appear on page 30

⁸ M3: bahūpuññaṃ karo

⁹ M3: visutto

¹⁰ M3: sarire; M4: sarīraṇi ca

¹¹ M3: tam uddissa yathā puññaṃ sīlavante yajeti so; M4: tam uddissa yathā
yaññaṃ sīlavante yajeti so

¹² M3: piṇḍipātaṃ ca yajitvāna; M4: piṇḍipātaṃ ca datvā

¹³ M3: sayanāsaṇaṃ

¹⁴ M3: bhikkhunaṃ sīlavantānaṃ; M4: bhikkhunaṃ sīlavantānaṃ

¹⁵ M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

¹⁶ M3 & M4: add bhagavato

¹⁷ M3: om. atha; M4: athako

sahassaparivārehi¹ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.² thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto³ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,⁴ mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.⁵ “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa⁶ puññakammaṃ kathento⁷ āha:

Haritālo⁸ mahāsetthi Haritāle ca gāmake
cāgavā⁹ sīlasampanno siddhājivena¹⁰ jīvati.
sīlavantesu bhesajjaṃ cīvaraṃ pānabhojanaṃ
datvā kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.¹¹

so āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare¹² nisīdi. aparō¹³ devaputto¹⁴ paññāsa-sahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.¹⁵ thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹⁶ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,¹⁷ mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke¹⁸ kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

¹ M4: caḷisa; M2, M3 & M4: add āgantvā

² M3: om. āgato

³ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

⁴ M3: kattamo

⁵ M3: bhante

⁶ M3: devaputtassa

⁷ M2: karonto

⁸ M4: Harittālo

⁹ M2: cāturā; M4: pātavā

¹⁰ M2 & M4: saddhājivena

¹¹ M2: uppajji va tidase pure ti; M3: upaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

¹² M4: tadanantare nisīdi

¹³ M3: apparō

¹⁴ M2: om. the following passage as far as Metteyyo bodhisatto ti

¹⁵ M3: paññāsasahashehi āgantvā cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya; M4: paññāsasahashehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato

¹⁶ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

¹⁷ M4: kattamo

¹⁸ M2: manussaloke ti

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dīpasmiṃ¹ uppajjitvā narādhipo²
Abhayaduṭṭhassa bhātā³ Saddhātisso ti nāmako⁴
cittappasādo buddhe⁵ ca dhamme saṅghe sagāro
pañcasīlaṃ uposathaṃ⁶ katvā aṭṭhaṅg’ uposathaṃ
sīlavantesu⁷ dādānaṃ yācayogo amaccharā.⁸
tena kammavipākena uppajji tidasālaye ti.⁹

so āgantvā¹⁰ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. aparō devaputto¹¹ saṭṭhi-sahassaparivārehi¹² cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā devarājānaṃ pucchi “mahārāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹³ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

Abhayaduṭṭho ti nāmena catupaccayadāyako¹⁴
buddhe ca dhamme ca saṅghe ca sakkaccaṃ¹⁵ payirupāsati.¹⁶
tathāgatassa¹⁷ so thūpaṃ¹⁸ kārayi bodhiropaṇaṃ

¹ M2: Tāmbapaṇṇidīpasmiṃ

² M3: upajjitvā narādipo; M4: uppajjitā narodipo

³ M3: adds ca

⁴ M4: nā(ma)ko

⁵ M3: cittapasādena buddhe

⁶ M2: uposathe; M3: pañcasīle sayyamo niccaṃ; M4: pañcasīle saññaṃ niccaṃ

⁷ M3: sīlavantesu

⁸ M3: yācayogaṃ amacchariṃ

⁹ M3: uppajja tidase pure

¹⁰ M3: adds bhagavato

¹¹ M3: apparō and om. devaputto

¹² M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

¹³ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

¹⁴ M3: catupaccayako

¹⁵ M3: sakkaccaṃ

¹⁶ M2: payirupāsati; M4: om. the line buddhe ca ... payirupāsati

¹⁷ M4: tathāgatatassa

¹⁸ M3: thūpaṃ so

mātāpitūnam atthāya bhikkhūnam deti dakkhiṇaṃ¹
 silavantesu² dādānaṃ yācakānaṃ anappakaṃ³
 sādarena⁴ cuto⁵ tamhā uppajji tidasālaye ti.⁶

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu⁷ vanditvā
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁸ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto⁹
 sattasahassaparivārehi¹⁰ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ
 disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹¹ Metteyyo
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro,
 bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe¹² manussaloke kim akāsi
 puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

sāmaṇero pure¹³ āsi appamatto vicakkhaṇa¹⁴
 buddhe dhamme ca saṃghe ca sakkaccaṃ payirupāsati.
 uñhodakena sītena rattindivam atandito¹⁵
 sammajjanīpadīpena¹⁶ sadā saṃgham upatṭhahi.¹⁷
 tena kammavipākena¹⁸ uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁹

¹ M3: bhikkhuyaññaṃ yajeti so

² M3 & M4: sillavantesu

³ M3: yācakānaṃ vanibbake

⁴ M3: sādarena

⁵ M3: cutto

⁶ M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidasā(la)ye ti

⁷ M2: aṭṭha(di)sāsu

⁸ M3: *om.* gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

⁹ M3: *om.* devaputto

¹⁰ M4: sattatisahasse(na); M3: *adds* āgantvā *and om.* āgato *at the end of the sentence*

¹¹ M2 & M4: *om.* devaputto

¹² M3: *om.* devaputto pubbe; M2 & M4: *om.* devaputto

¹³ M2: *om.* pure

¹⁴ M3: appamattā pur’ āsi patṭhigā

¹⁵ M2: attandito

¹⁶ M3: samajanipadiyena; M4: samajanīpena

¹⁷ M3: udakaseyyanāsaṇaṃ

¹⁸ M3: tena vipākena

¹⁹ M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

so āgantvā¹ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā² tadanantare nisīdi. tadā aparō³ devaputto
 asītisahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.⁴ thero taṃ āgataṃ⁵
 disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁶ Metteyyo
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro,
 bhante” ti. “devarāja ayaṃ⁷ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti.
 Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento⁸ āha:

duggatassa⁹ kule jāto parādhinena¹⁰ jīvati.
 gocare ca bhikkhuṃ disvā¹¹ paragehesu tiṭṭhati¹²
 gehasāmi ajānantaṃ¹³ pabodhetvā subhāsita¹⁴:
 silavanto ayyo sāmi¹⁵ gharadvāresu¹⁶ tiṭṭhati.
 yathāladdhaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ¹⁷ sādhukaṃ dehi tādino.¹⁸
 sutvāna gharasāmiko¹⁹ piyen’ eva taṃ abravi:
 sādhu tāta subhāsitaṃ²⁰ piṇḍapātaṃ²¹ dadāmi ’haṃ;

¹ M2: so gantvā

² M3: *adds* bhagavato; M3: *om.* gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

³ M3: *om.* tadā; M3: apparō

⁴ M3 & M4: asītisahasseehi; M3: *adds* āgantvā *and om.* āgato *at the end of the sentence*

⁵ M4: *om.* āgataṃ

⁶ M3 & M4: *om.* devaputto

⁷ M2: *adds* devaputto

⁸ M2: karonto

⁹ M2: duttasa; M3: dugatassa

¹⁰ M2 & M4: paradinnena

¹¹ M2: gocaraṃ bhikkhuṃ disvā; M3 & M4: bhikkhussa gocaraṃ disvā

¹² M2: tiṭṭhakaṃ

¹³ M3: gehasāmi na jānti

¹⁴ M2: subhāsito; M3: subāsita

¹⁵ M3 & M4: ayyassa silavanto so

¹⁶ M2: gharadhāresu

¹⁷ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

¹⁸ M2 & M3: tādisaṃ; M4: tādise

¹⁹ M3: sutvā gharassa sāmica

²⁰ M3 & M4: subhāsehi

²¹ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

piṇḍapātama²⁷¹ gahetvāna therassa upanāmayi.

etena vacībhedena¹ uppajji tidase pure ti.²

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ³ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁴ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto navuttisahassaparivārehi⁵ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ⁶ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁷ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.⁸ “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññatāro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁹ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dipe so¹⁰ Kaṇṇikārikagāmake¹¹
disvā tathāgataṃ thūpaṃ¹² kaṇṇikārena pūjayi
cakkhudvayapadīpena¹³ sirasā¹⁴ pupphitena ca
vacasā dhūpakārena¹⁵ manasā va sugandhitā.¹⁶
tena kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁷

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā¹⁸ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto

¹ M3: piyavādena

² M3: uppappajja tidase pure; M4: upajja tidase pure ti

³ M3: om. cetiyaṃ

⁴ M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

⁵ M3 & M4: navuttisahassehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

⁶ M4: om. āgataṃ

⁷ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

⁸ M2, M3 & M4: add n' eso bhante ti

⁹ M3: om. ayaṃ devaputto; M4: om. devaputto

¹⁰ M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadipe ca so

¹¹ M2: Kaṇṇikārikagāmake; M3: Kaṇṇikāre gāmake; M4: Kaṇṇikāre ca gāmake

¹² M2 & M4: tathāgataṃ thūpaṃ

¹³ M2: cakkhudvayaṃ; M3: nayanajalapadīpena

¹⁴ M2: sirisā; M3: sirisā dipena ca

¹⁵ M3: adds ca

¹⁶ M4: sugandhakā

¹⁷ M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

¹⁸ M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

satasahassaparivārehi¹ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto² Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññatāro, bhante” ti.³ “devarāja ayaṃ devaputto⁴ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento⁵ āha:

Anurādhapure pubbe daliddo⁶ tiṇahārako⁷

pāṇātipātā virato⁸ kalyāṇo saraṇe ṭhito.

tiṇakatthaṃ haritvāna⁹ sammājīvena¹⁰ jīvati.

aparena samayena¹¹ nadiṃ gacchati ekako

rajataṃ vālukaṃ¹² disvā viyūhitvāna so tadā¹³

cetiyaṃ pi karitvāna sumano etad abravi¹⁴:

aho subhaṃ¹⁵ vata cetiyaṃ me¹⁶ veduriyavaṇṇaruciraṃ

pabhassaraṃ¹⁷ aggi yathā pajjalitena¹⁸ susubhaṃ

hadayaṅgamaṃ¹⁹ vicittakaṃ ulāraṃ.²⁰

¹ M3 & M4: satasahasseehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

² M3 & M4: om. devaputto

³ M3: om. aññatāro bhante ti

⁴ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

⁵ M3: om. kathento

⁶ M4: dalido

⁷ M3: parādikkhamukule āhu

⁸ M3: viratto

⁹ M3: tiṇṇakatthaṃ gahetvāna

¹⁰ M3: samā jivena

¹¹ M3: tadāparena samayena; M4: tadā aparena samayena

¹² M3: bāhukaṃ; M4: bālukaṃ

¹³ M4: om. viyūhitvāna so tadā

¹⁴ M2: etam abravi; M3: eta bravi

¹⁵ M3: surūpaṃ

¹⁶ M4: om. me

¹⁷ M2: pabhassavaraṃ

¹⁸ M2: ambhaggi yathā pajjalitena

¹⁹ M3: lobhaṃ hadayaṃ

²⁰ M4: (vi)cittakaṃ olaraṃ

vandāmi¹ cetiyaṃ vamaṃ bāluka² pakataṃ mayā.

kāyena vacā manasā saha puppehi pūjayi.

silavante bharitvā³ yathāladhamṃ dadāti⁴ so.

tena kammavipākena uppajji tidaśālaye ti.⁵

so pi⁶ āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā⁷
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁸ tadanantare nisīdi.

evaṃ dvādasahi devaputtehi upalakkhitaṃ⁹ pathamaṃ Māleyyavattthūṃ
samattaṃ.

tadā Ariyametteyyo¹⁰ bodhisatto dasasatakiraṇanisākarapabhāṭireka-
pabhāvirājitehi koṭisatasahassasurayuvatisuraputtehi parivārīto tārā-
gaṇehi parivārīto¹¹ jaladharapatalavirahitasaradasamayākāsasamuggato
paripuṇṇacandamaṇḍalo viya virocamaṇo¹² dīpadhūpagandhamālādīhi¹³
gāhāpetvā Tusitabhavanato otarivā¹⁴ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya sakala-
tidasapuram¹⁵ dibbobhāsena obhāsento¹⁶ dibbagandhehi pavāyanto¹⁷

¹ M3 & M4: vandhāmi

² M2, M3 & M4: bālukaṃ

³ M2: bharitvā; M3: sillavante; M4: silavantam

⁴ M3: dadāmi

⁵ M2: uppajji tidase pure ti; M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppaje tidaśālaye ti

⁶ M3: om. pi

⁷ M2: vanditvāna; M4: vandhitvā

⁸ M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

⁹ M2: upalikkhitum

¹⁰ M3: om. ariya

¹¹ M4: om. tārāgaṇehi parivārīto; M3: koṭisatasahashehi devagaṇehi parivārīto *in place of* dasasatakiraṇa ... tārāgaṇehi parivārīto

¹² M3: om. jaladharapatala ... virocamaṇo

¹³ M2, M3 & M4: ... mālādīni

¹⁴ M2: ottarivā; M3: *replaces* cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya ... koṭīhi parivārīto *by* parivārādasento āha

¹⁵ M4: sākalatida(sa)puram

¹⁶ M2: dibbobhāsantā

¹⁷ M2: vāyanto

anopamāya sakapakatililāya anopamena sakapakatisirivilāsena
cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā¹ aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pūjetvā
pācinadisābhāge² nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

tadā Ariyametteyyo koṭīhi parivārīto.³

purato ca sataṃ kaññā pacchato accharā sataṃ

dakkhiṇato sataṃ kaññā vāmato⁴ accharā sataṃ.

tāsaṃ majjhe ca⁵ Metteyyo tārā majjhe va candimā.⁶

dibbaccharānaṃ raṃsīhi tāsaṃ ābharaṇassa⁷ ca

jotayanti disā sabbā⁸ koṭicandappabhā viyā ti.⁹

thero bodhisattaṃ dūrato¹⁰ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja,¹¹
ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “āma, bhante” ti. “devarāja, etā¹²
devakaññā Metteyyassa purato āgatā¹³ setaraṃsā¹⁴ setavatthā
setābharaṇā pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu¹⁵ puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tāsaṃ
puññaṃkammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā mānusakē¹⁶

uposathamhi divase puññaṃ dānādikaṃ¹⁷ karā

setavattham setamālaṃ setagandhavilepanaṃ

¹ M4: om. padakkhiṇaṃ katvā

² M2: bhāgena

³ M2: koṭīh’ imo satasahasaparivārehi

⁴ M3: bāto

⁵ M4: va

⁶ M4: candhimā

⁷ M2 & M4: ābharassa

⁸ M4: jotayanti sabbā disā

⁹ M2: koṭicandappa viyā ti [*thus in Denis’ ms.*]; M4: koṭicandhappabha viyā ti

¹⁰ M3: durataṃ

¹¹ M3: om. rāja

¹² M3: ayaṃ etā

¹³ M2: āgato; M3: gatā

¹⁴ M4: setaraṃsā

¹⁵ M2: akimsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

¹⁶ M2 & M4: manussake; M3: manussaloke

¹⁷ M2: puññadānādikaṃ; M4: puññaṃ dhanādikaṃ

setam āhāraṇaṃ¹ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.²
 ten' eva puññakammena³ Metteyyapūrato gatā ti.⁴
 thero taṃ sutvā⁵ tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ pasaṃsanto⁶ puna Sujampatiṃ
 pucchi “devarāja, etā⁷ devakaññā Metteyyassa dakkhiṇapassena āgatā⁸
 pītaraṃsā pītavattā pītābharaṇālaṅkatā⁹ pubbe manussaloke kim
 akaṃsu¹⁰ puññān” ti. Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:
 bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake¹¹
 uposathamhi divase puññaṃ silādikaṃ¹² karā
 pītavattā¹³ pītāmālaṃ pītāgandhavilepanaṃ
 pītāṃ āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.
 ten' eva¹⁴ puññakammena Metteyyadakkhiṇā gatā ti.¹⁵
 thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ pasaṃsanto¹⁶ puna devarājānaṃ¹⁷
 pucchi “devarāja, etā¹⁸ devakaññā vāmapassena āgatā rattaraṃsā¹⁹

¹ M3: seta-āhāraṇaṃ; M4: setāhāraṇaṃ

² M3: bhikkhūno

³ M2: tena puññavipākena

⁴ M3: Metteyyapūrato gatā

⁵ M4: (sut)vā

⁶ M3: pasaṃsati; M4: pa(saṃ)santo

⁷ M3: ayaṃ etā

⁸ M2: gatā

⁹ M2 & M4: pītābharaṇālaṅkatā; M3: pītābharaṇāni pītakarā devānaṃ

¹⁰ M2: akāsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

¹¹ M2 & M3: mānussaloke; M4: mānusake

¹² M2: mālādikaṃ

¹³ M3 & M4: pita is always written with short i in this passage

¹⁴ M2: tena

¹⁵ M3: Metteyyassa dakkhiṇāgatā

¹⁶ M3: pasaṃsati; M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

¹⁷ M2: Sujampatiṃ pucchi; M3: sudevarājānaṃ pucchi

¹⁸ M3: ayaṃ etā

¹⁹ M3: ratarasā

rattavattā rattābharaṇā¹ pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu² puññān” ti.
 Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ³ kathento āha:
 bhante devaccharā⁴ sabbā pubbe⁵ jātā manusake⁶
 uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjitā⁷
 rattavattāṃ rattamālaṃ rattāgandhavilepanaṃ
 rattāṃ āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno⁸
 ratanattayaṃ⁹ pūjesuṃ Metteyyavāmato gatā ti¹⁰
 thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ¹¹ puññakammaṃ pasaṃsanto¹² puna Sujampatiṃ
 pucchi¹³ “devarāja, etā¹⁴ devakaññā¹⁵ pacchimāpassena āgatā sāmaraṃsā
 sāmavattā sāmabharaṇā¹⁶ pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu¹⁷ puññān” ti.
 Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:
 bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake¹⁸
 uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjitā¹⁹
 sāmavattāṃ sāmamālaṃ²⁰ sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ

¹ M3: rattābharaṇāni ratikarā devānaṃ

² M3: akāsi

³ M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

⁴ M3: devapurā

⁵ M2: om. pubbe

⁶ M2: mānussake; M3: manussaloke; M4: mānusake

⁷ M2: supūjetvā; M3: supūjitaṃ

⁸ M3: om. this verse

⁹ M2, M3 & M4: rattanattayaṃ

¹⁰ M3: Metteyyavāmato āgatā

¹¹ M2: om. tāsāṃ

¹² M3: pasaṃsati; M4: pa(saṃ)santo

¹³ M2: om. pucchi

¹⁴ M3: ayaṃ etā

¹⁵ M4: devakaññāyo

¹⁶ M3: sāmabharaṇāni sāmāpitikarā devānaṃ

¹⁷ M3: akāsi

¹⁸ M2 & M3: manussaloke; M4: manussake

¹⁹ M2: supūjito

²⁰ M3: sāmavattā sāmamālā sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ; M4: sāmavattā sāmamālā, and om. sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ

sāmaṃ āhāraṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.¹
saṃyamā saṃvibhātā ca² Metteyyapacchato gatā ti.³

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ⁴ puññakammaṃ pasamsanto⁵ puna Sujampatiṃ⁶
pucchi “devarāja,⁷ Metteyyo īdisaṃ⁸ sampattiṃ labhati. kiṃ pana
puññam akāsi” ti.⁹ Sakko Metteyyassa¹⁰ puññam saṃkhepena
sāgarāṭṭikkamanasasopamāya¹¹ pabbatārohanandhopamāya¹² ca¹³ paññāya
pakāsetvā puna saddhādhikapaññādhikaviriyādhikasamkhātānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ
anappakappopacitakāyavacimāno¹⁴ paṇihitatividhasucarita-
cadhanapariccāga¹⁵-puttapariccāga¹⁶-bhariyāpariccāga-aṅgapariccāga-
jīvitapariccāga-samkhātadānapārami¹⁷ tadanurūpasīlanekkhama-
paññāviriyakhantīsaccādiṭṭhānamettupekkhā ti dasapārami¹⁸ dasa¹⁹-
upapārami²⁰ dasaparamatthapārami ti sama²¹-tiṃsapāramiyo puritānaṃ

¹ M3: *om. this verse*

² M3: sayamālavibhātāya; M4: saññamā saṃvibhātā ca

³ M2: Metteyyassa pacchato gatā ti; M3: Metteyyapacchato gatā

⁴ M2: *om. tāsāṃ*

⁵ M3: pasamsati

⁶ M2: *adds ca*

⁷ M3: *the following passage as far as ahaṃ jambūdīpāgato 'mhi mahārājā ti is quite different. It is hard to read and what I have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings. See Appendix A.*

⁸ M2: tadisaṃ

⁹ M2 & M4: akāsi

¹⁰ M[*number omitted in Denis' ms.*]: *adds va*

¹¹ M2: sāgarattikkamana-; M4: sāgarattikkamana-

¹² M2: pabbatārohandhopamāya

¹³ M2 & M4: *add attano*

¹⁴ M2: vacimanto

¹⁵ M2: pañcamahāpariccāga *instead of dhanapariccāga which is included in the list lower down; M4: always writes pariccāga*

¹⁶ M2: *adds dhanapariccāga*

¹⁷ M2: pāramita; M4: saṃkhātāni dānapārami

¹⁸ M2: mettapekkhātidasapārami; M4: metta-upekkhātidasapārami

¹⁹ M4: *om. dasa*

²⁰ M4: u(pa)pārami

²¹ M2: *om. sama*

bodhisattānaṃ viriyādhikabodhisatto ariyaMetteyyo bodhisatto ti
pakāsento imā gāthayo āha:

Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹ katvā puññāni nekadhā
seṭṭhasabbaññūbuddhehi na sakkā tāni vaṇṇitum²
ekadese na vuttāni saso³ sāgarattikkamo
andho va pabbatāroho patiṭṭhaṃ na labhissati.⁴
tathā Metteyyo puññāni⁵ anantāparimāṇakā
anappakappe sambhāre sambhāritvāna sabbaso.
tayo hi bodhisattāsum⁶ eko thāmādiko mato⁷
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa⁸
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;
eko saddhādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse⁹
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭha pi¹⁰
pūretvā pārami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;
eko paññādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse¹¹
kappasatasahassāni cattāri ca¹² asaṃkheyyāni
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ.
Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹³ tesam thāmādhiko mato¹⁴
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa

¹ M4: pi

² M4: vaṇṇetum

³ M2: *adds va*

⁴ M4: labhissāmi ti

⁵ M2: Metteyyapuññāni; M4: Metteyyassa puññāni

⁶ M2: bodhisattesu

⁷ M2: eko ca viriyādhiko matto (*always written thus in M2*); M4: *om. the passage up to eko saddhādhiko mato*

⁸ M2: soḷasi

⁹ M2: mānusse; M4: mānuse

¹⁰ M2: asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭhi pi

¹¹ M2: mānusse; M4: manu(se)

¹² M2 & M4: *om. ca*

¹³ M2: tu

¹⁴ M2: tesahaviriyādhiko matto; M4: *replaces this verse with viriyādhika-Metteyyo tesu thāmādiko mato*

pūretvā pāramī sabbā¹ Tusite upapajjati.²
 cavitvāna tato kāyā sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissatī ti.
 evaṃ Sakkena³ saddhiṃ there kathente yeva Metteyyo cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ⁴
 āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā
 pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge⁵ nisīdi. bodhisatto tattha
 nisinnaṃ therāṃ vanditvā pucchi “kuto āgato si, bhante” ti.⁶ “ahaṃ
 Jambūdiṇīyato ’mhi,⁷ mahārājā” ti. “bhante, Jambūdiṇīpamanussānaṃ
 kiṃ vattamānaṃ” ti.⁸ therā bodhisattassa paṇhaṃ kathento āha:

sabbe te manussā tattha sakakammena⁹ jīvītā¹⁰
 samiddhā ca daliddā ca¹¹ sukkhitā dukkhitā pi¹² ca
 abhirūpā virūpā ca¹³ dighāyukā appāyukā.¹⁴
 samiddhā appakā honti daliddā¹⁵ ca bahūjanā;
 sukkhitā appakā honti¹⁶ dukkhitā ca¹⁷ bahūjanā;
 surūpā appakā¹⁸ honti virūpā ca¹⁹ bahūjanā;
 dighāyukā appakā honti appāyukā ca²⁰ bahūjanā.

¹ M2: sambodhiṃ

² M2: Tussitaṃ uppapajji; M4: Tussitaṃ uppapajjati

³ M2: Sakena

⁴ M2: cetiyaṅgaṇe; M4: *omits this passage up to and including* nisinnaṃ

⁵ M2: bhāgena

⁶ M3: bhante kuto āgato ti

⁷ M4: Jambūgato ’mhi

⁸ M4: vattamānaṃ ti

⁹ M2: sakammena

¹⁰ M2 & M4: jīvanti; M3: jīvātā

¹¹ M4: samiddhā ca daliddhā ca

¹² M3: sukkhitā pi ca (*om. dukkhitā*)

¹³ M3: abhirūpā pi ca (*om. virūpā*)

¹⁴ M2: appāyukā; M3: dighāyu(kā) appakāyukā

¹⁵ M3: daliddā; M4: daliddhā

¹⁶ M3: sukkhitā a(ppa)kā honti

¹⁷ M2: *om. ca*

¹⁸ M3: appa(kā)

¹⁹ M2: *om. ca*

²⁰ M4: *om. ca*; M3: appā(yukā)

manussā appakā honti tiracchānā bahūtarā¹;
 tasmā vadāmi ’haṃ sabbe sakakammena² jīvītā ti.³

bodhisatto therassa vacanaṃ sutvā “bhante, Jambūdiṇīpamanussā kiṃ
 bahūpuṇṇāni⁴ karonti udāhu pāpāni” ti. “mahārāja,⁵ puṇṇaṃ karontā
 appakā honti⁶ pāpaṃ karontā bahutarā honti” ti.⁷ “kiṃ puṇṇaṃ
 karontā,⁸ bhante” ti. “mahārāja, Jambūdiṇīpamanussā keci dānaṃ denti
 keci sīlaṃ rakkhanti keci dhammadānaṃ denti keci uposathaṃ karonti
 keci buddhapatimaṃ karonti keci vihāraṃ karonti keci āvāsaṃ⁹ karonti
 keci vassāvāsaṃ denti¹⁰ keci cīvaraṃ denti keci piṇḍapātaṃ¹¹ denti keci
 bhesajjaṃ denti¹² keci bodhirukkhaṃ ropenti¹³ keci thūpaṃ karonti¹⁴ keci
 cetiyaṃ karonti¹⁵ keci ārāmaṃ karonti¹⁶ keci setuṃ karonti keci
 caṅkamaṃ karonti keci kūpaṃ khananti keci taṭākaṃ khananti¹⁷ keci
 parikkhāraṃ denti keci dasavidhaṃ dānaṃ denti¹⁸ keci mātupitu-
 upatthānaṃ karonti¹⁹ keci kālakatānaṃ nātakānaṃ atthaya yaññaṃ²⁰

¹ M3: *om. this verse*

² M2: sakamena; M4: sakammena

³ M2 & M3: jīvanti ti

⁴ M3: *om. bahū*

⁵ M4: *om. this phrase up to the second* mahārāja

⁶ M3: *om. honti*

⁷ M2 & M3: honti

⁸ M3: *om. karontā*

⁹ M3: ārāmaṃ; M4: *om. this phrase*

¹⁰ M3: keci sīlaṃ karonti

¹¹ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

¹² M3: *om. this phrase*

¹³ M3: keci bodharopenti

¹⁴ M3: *om. this phrase*

¹⁵ M3: *om. the verbs of this phrase and the eight following phrases*; M4: *om. this phrase and the six following phrases*

¹⁶ M3: āvāsaṃ

¹⁷ M2: tanākaṃ

¹⁸ M3: dasavidadānaṃ

¹⁹ M3: mātāpitu-upatthānaṃ

²⁰ M4: nātinaṃ atthāya yaññaṃ; M3: *om. this phrase*

karonti¹ keci ratanattayaṃ pūjenti keci puttāṃ pabbājenti keci dhammaputtāṃ pabbājenti² keci buddhapatimaṃ pūjenti evaṃ³ sabbāni kusalakammāni Jambūdīpamanussā yathāsatiyathābalaṃ yathā-
ajjhāsayaṃ karonti” ti kathesi.⁴ “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussā evarūpāni puññāni katvā⁵ kiṃ paṭṭhanaṃ karonti” ti.⁶ thero tassa manussānaṃ paṇidhānaṃ karonti⁷ āha:

deva te puññamattaṃ pi katvā kārenti vā pana
paresaṃ vā anumodanti tuyhaṃ patthenti⁸ bodhiyā:
iminā katapuññena dānasīlādinaṃ pana⁹
Metteyyass’ eva buddhassa dassanaṃ ca¹⁰ labhāmhasa¹¹;
yāvānupajjate buddho Metteyyo devapūjito
saṃsāre saṃsarantā pi¹² apāye na gamāmhasa.¹³
Jambūdīpamanussā te puññaṃ katvā tadā pana
evaṃ karimsu paṇidhiṃ¹⁴ sabbatṭhānesu sabbadā ti.

bodhisatto Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ pavattiṃ sutvā somanassaṃ patto¹⁵
hutvā¹⁶ evaṃ āha “bhante, sabbe janā maṃ sabbaññūtaṃ pattāṃ
daṭṭhūṃ¹⁷ patthento¹⁸ Mahāvessantarajātakaṃ ekadivase yeva

¹ M4: *adds two phrases here*: keci cetiyam karonti keci ārāmaṃ karonti; M4 *ends here*

² M2: *om. this phrase*

³ M3: *om. evaṃ*

⁴ M2: katheti; M3: *om. kathesi*

⁵ M3: bhante manussā evarūpāni karontā

⁶ M3: kiṃ patthitaṃ kiṃ paṇidhānaṃ dakkhiṇodakaṃ pātetvā

⁷ M2: kathento; M3: paṇidhikathento evaṃ āha

⁸ M2: patthenti; M3: pattheti

⁹ M3: dānaṃ sīlānaṃ pana

¹⁰ M2: dassanaṃ ca

¹¹ M3: labhāmhasa

¹² M3: saṃsaranto pi

¹³ M2: gamāmhasa

¹⁴ M2 & M3: paṇidhi

¹⁵ M2: somanussapatto; M3: somanassapatto

¹⁶ M3: *om. hutvā*

¹⁷ M2: sabbaññūtapattaṃ daṭṭhaṃ; M3: sabbaññūtadaṭṭhūṃ

pariniṭṭhitaṃ¹ suṇantu; saḥassapadīpena vā pūjetvā saḥassapadumena vā
saḥassaniluppapalena vā saḥassa-indīvarena² vā saḥassa-maṇḍārapupphena³
vā saḥassa-ummārapupphena⁴ vā saḥassadhajena vā saḥassachattena vā
saḥassapaṭākena⁵ vā saḥassayāññaṃ vā sabbam āharitvā dhammaṃ
pūjetvā mama bodhikāle mama sammukhā⁶ saha paṭisambhidāhi⁷
arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti” ti. iti vatvā puna⁸ pāpamanussānaṃ attano
buddhattadassanaṃ alabhamānabhāvaṃ kathento gātham āha:

paṭighaṃ bhikkhunīdūsaṃ⁹ karonti saṃghabhedakaṃ
pañcānantariyakammaṃ¹⁰ thūpaṃ bodhissa chedakaṃ¹¹
bodhisattaṃ ca mārenti¹² santaṃ saṃghassa hārakā¹³

¹⁸ M2: patthento; M3: patthentā (*From this point onwards, the text of M3, although having virtually the same meaning, is set out slightly differently. We have transcribed the whole of it here as far as the verses: ... bhikkhu vā bhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā mahāvessantaraṃ puppehi vā jātake ekadivase yeva suṇanti saḥassayaññaṃ saḥassadhupena saḥassadīpena vā saḥassaniluppapalapuppehi vā saḥassapadumapuppehi vā saḥassa-ummārapuppehi vā cetiyassa pūjenti vā buddhapatimaṃ pūjenti vā sabbe te kālaṃ karitvā sattaṃsaṃpattiṃ yathā paribhuñjitvā mama bodhikāle mama sammukhā saḥassasambhidāhi arahattaṃ pattim labhanti vatvā te dassento gātham āha ...*)

¹ M2: pariniṭṭhitaṃ

² M2: *om. this phrase*

³ M2: maṇḍālapupphena

⁴ M2: ummārapupphena

⁵ M2: *om. this phrase*

⁶ M2: sammukhā

⁷ M5 *starts here. (The beginning of the text is quite different; we have transcribed up to the verses as far as we have been able to decipher them: ... hi arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti ti āpariyo pokado vadeyya ekacce kappanā dubbalā kiṃ karissanti ti parihāro taṃ vadeyya thapetvā samiddhā c’ eva mahaddanā ca kareyyanti evaṃ ca pana vatvā bodhisatto puna manussānaṃ attano buddhattaṃ dassanaṃ alabha(mā)nabhāvaṃ kathento āha)*

⁸ M2: *om. puna*

⁹ M3: paṭighabhikkhunīdūsaṃ

¹⁰ M2: pañcānantarikammaṃ; M5: pañcānantarikaṃ kammaṃ

¹¹ M3: bodhiṃ ca chedakaṃ; M5: bodhiṃ ca chedakā

¹² M2: bodhisantakaṃ; M3: bodhisattassa māreti

maccherā ca pamādā ca na honti mama santike ti.¹
thero tassa vacanaṃ sutvā evaṃ ahā² “mahārāja,³ sādhu te⁴ vacanaṃ.
ahaṃ⁵ Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ kathessāmi. tvaṃ⁶ pana kadā buddho
bhavissasī” ti.⁷ “bhante, Gotamabuddhassa sāsaṇaṃ pañcavassa-
sahassāni tṭhātvā⁸ antaradhāyissati. tasmim̐ antarahite⁹ loke
akusalussannaṃ¹⁰ bhavissati.¹¹ kusalan ti nāma mattaṃ pi¹² na bhavissati
pageva kusaluppatti.¹³ tadā anukkamena¹⁴ manussā virahita-
hirottappābhīṇṇamariyādā¹⁵ ayaṃ me¹⁶ mātādhītābhaginīnattātisaññaṃ
anuppādetvā ajelakakukkuṭasūkarasiṃgālasaṇḍādayo viya nillajjā¹⁷
bhavissanti.¹⁸ tadā te anukkamena¹⁹ ussanna-akusalappayogena²⁰
vassasataparicchinṇāyukato²¹ manussā parihāyitā dasavassāyukā

¹³ M2: saṃghahāraṃ; M5: saṇṭaṃ saṃghassa hārikaṃ

¹ M3: māma santi ti

² M2 & M3: om. evaṃ

³ M5: devasantusita

⁴ M3: sodha te (In M3 the following passage, up to the verses, is quite different.

What we have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings). See Appendix B.

⁵ M5: om. ahaṃ

⁶ M5: adds kho

⁷ M2: bhavissati ti; M5: bhavituṃ gamissati ti

⁸ M5: thatvā

⁹ M5: antaradhāhite

¹⁰ M5: akusalāni usannāni

¹¹ M5: bhavissanti

¹² M2: kusalan ti nāmaṃ mattaṃ pi; M5: kusalaṃ puññaṃ ti nāma mattaṃ na honti

¹³ M5: paggeva kusalapuññaṃ karonti

¹⁴ M2: anukkamena; M5: om. tadā anukkamena

¹⁵ M5: manussā ahirikā anottappā bhinnamariyādā

¹⁶ M5: sabbe janā

¹⁷ M2: nilajjā; M5: nilajā

¹⁸ M2: bhavissati

¹⁹ M2: anukkamena; M5: atha anukkamena

²⁰ M2: ussanna-akusalaṃ piyogena; M5: akusalā usannātehi kusalapāpehi payogehi

²¹ M2: yukāto; M5: yukā

bhavissanti. yadā pañcavassikadāraṃkassa pañcavassikāya dārikāya¹ āvāho²
vivāho² bhavissati tadā satthantarakappo bhavissati. manussā
aññaṃaññaṃ migasaññaṃ³ bhavissanti. tesam̐ daṇḍādi upakaraṇaṃ hi⁴
hatthena gahitagahitaṃ yaṃ kiñci⁵ ubhatodhārākhuradhārasadisam̐⁶
āvudhaṃ bhavissati. te aññaṃaññaṃ ghāṭessanti.⁷ tesu ye manussā⁸
paṇḍitā⁹ paṭhamam̐ eva¹⁰ taṃ vināsaṃ sutvā¹¹ pabbatarādisu¹²
pavisitvā¹³ ekikā niliyissanti.¹⁴ te tṭhapetvā¹⁵ avasesā sattāhaṃ
aññaṃaññaṃ paharitvā¹⁶ vinassissanti. atha¹⁷ sattame divase atikkante
attano attano niliyatṭhānā¹⁸ nikkhamitvā aññaṃaññaṃ āliṅgitvā
samaggasaṃvāsaṃ¹⁹ paṭilabhitvā yaṃ nūna²⁰ mayam̐²¹ kusalakammaṃ
kareyyāma pāṇātipātā virameyyāma²² adinnādānā kāmesu micchācārā

¹ M5: pañcavassikadarikāya ca

² M5: āvāhavivāho

³ M2: miggasaññaṃ; M5: migasaññaṃ

⁴ M2: om. hi

⁵ M5: has yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitaṃ tan taṃ in place of tesam̐ daṇḍādi ... yaṃ kiñci ...

⁶ M5: ubhatodhārākhuradhārādi

⁷ M5: vadhissanti

⁸ M5: adds ca and om. manussā

⁹ M5: adds kalyāṇā sattāhabbhantare

¹⁰ M5: pathameva and om. taṃ

¹¹ M5: adds sattāhaṃ yāpanamattaṃ gahetvā

¹² M2: pabbatarādisu; M5: pabbatarādisu

¹³ M2: pavisitvā

¹⁴ M5: tāni ekekaṭṭhāne nilayanti

¹⁵ M2: tṭhapetvā; M5: teva tṭhapetvā

¹⁶ M5: vadhivā

¹⁷ M5: om. atha and adds sakalapathavi ekamaṃsaṃ lohitā bhavissati

¹⁸ M5: has te ca attano niliyatṭhānato in place of attano attano niliyatṭhānā

¹⁹ M5: the text is different up to yaṃ nūna ... : samaggacittā hutvā ambho usannākusalakammanimittena amhākaṃ nātākāvinatthā honti sujjhāpāyena mayam̐ jivitaṃ labhimhā

²⁰ M5: yaṃ nūna

²¹ M5: adds pi

²² M5: om. virameyyāma

musāvādā surāmerayā¹ pisuññāvācā² pharussāvācā samphappalāvācā abhiijhā byāpādā micchādīṭṭhiyā pativirameyyāma puññāni karissāmā ti puññāni karissanti.³ atha dasavassāyukamanussānaṃ vīsativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti⁴; bhiyyo puññāni karontānaṃ manussānaṃ dārakā⁵ anukkamena⁶ tiṃsacattāḷisapaññāsasaṭṭhi⁷sattati-asītinavuti⁸-sata-vassāyukā⁹ bhavissanti. anukkamena¹⁰ dvivassasatāyukā puttā¹¹ ticatupañcacasatta-aṭṭhanavasatāyukā sahasāyukā.¹² bhavissanti anukkamena¹³ sahasāyukānaṃ dvisahasāyukā puttā bhavissanti¹⁴; ticatupañcacasatta-aṭṭhanavadasahasāyukā¹⁵ bhavissanti. atha manussā atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā vassasatasahasāyukā bhavissanti.¹⁶ atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena¹⁷ vassasatasahasākoṭi-āyukā¹⁸ bhavissanti. tato paraṃ atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā¹⁹ asaṃkheyyāyukā bhavissanti. tadā sattānaṃ jarāmarañāni²⁰ na paññāyissanti²¹; puna pi pamādaṃ āpajjissanti²²; tesam

¹ M5: surāmerayamajjhapaṇādaṭṭhānā

² M5: pesuññāvācā

³ M5: pativicikiccā virameyyāma ti puññāni karissanti

⁴ M5: atha dasavassāyukānaṃ manussānaṃ puttā vīsativassāyukā bhavissanti

⁵ M5: *has* puttā *in place of* manussānaṃ dārakā

⁶ M2: anukammena

⁷ M2 & M5: saṭṭhi

⁸ M2: navutti

⁹ M5: *om.* vassā

¹⁰ M2: anukammena

¹¹ M5: *om.* vassasatāyukā puttā

¹² M5: *adds* ca

¹³ M2: anukammena

¹⁴ M5: *om.* sahasāyukānaṃ dvisahasāyukā puttā bhavissanti

¹⁵ M5: *adds* dasahasāyukā ca

¹⁶ M5: atha manussesu atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena sata-sahasāyukā bhavissanti

¹⁷ M2: anukammena; M5: *om.* anukkamena

¹⁸ M2: yukā; M5: koṭisatasahasāyukā

¹⁹ M5: *om.* atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā

²⁰ M5: jarāmarāṇaṃ

²¹ M5: paññāyanti

āyuparihāyissanti.¹ asaṃkheyyāyukato sattā² parihāyitvā vassakoṭi-vassasahasāyukā bhavissanti; tato pi parihāyitvā anukkamena³ navutikoṭivassasahasāyukā bhavissanti.⁴ tato pi anukkamena⁵ parihāyitvā asītivassasahasāyukā bhavissanti. tasmiṃ samaye⁶ devo anvaḍhamāsaṃ anudasāhaṃ anupañcāhaṃ ca⁷ majjhimayāme paṭhaviraṣaṃ vaḍhento vassissati.⁸ tadā⁹ Jambūdīpo samiddho hoti¹⁰ sabbakālaṃ pupphaphalalatāgumbapādapābharito¹¹ kukkūṭasampātika-gāmanigamasamākiṇṇo¹² corakaṇṭakavirahito¹³ appagatadīṭṭhigahano¹⁴ rājadhānīsamujjalito¹⁵ sabbaratanasampanno sukhito¹⁶ subhikkho khemo¹⁷ bahu-annapānakkhajjabhojanasampanno¹⁸ macchamaṃsādi upabhogaparibhogasamiddho.¹⁹ taḷākā sumadhurodakaparipuṇṇā sabbattha bhavissanti.²⁰ tadā bhante²¹ jāyapatikā avivādakā akodhanā

²² M2: puna pi pamādapajjissanti; M5: puna pamādaṃ āpajanti

¹ M2: ayupariyāpāyissanti; M5: *attaches this phrase to the following phrase:* tesam ayusaṃkheyyato parihāyissati vassakoṭi ...

² M2: *om.* sattā

³ M2: anukammena

⁴ M5: *om.* *this phrase*

⁵ M2: anukammena

⁶ M5: tadā

⁷ M5: anupañcāhaṃ

⁸ M2: vassissanti; M5: majjhimayāme rattiṃ pathavi(yā)rasaṃ (saṃ)vaḍhento vassanti

⁹ M5: tadāyaṃ

¹⁰ M5: samiddho ahoṣi; *The following text is slightly different:* tadā dummālatāgumbbhavānicakālameva pupphaphaladharāpādatatabharito

¹¹ M2: pādapariabharito

¹² M5: kukkūṭasampattagāmanigamasamākiṇṇo

¹³ M2: corakaṇṭhākavirahito; M5: *adds* ca

¹⁴ M2: appagatadīṭṭhigahano

¹⁵ M5: *adds* ca

¹⁶ M5: *om.* sukhito

¹⁷ M5: *adds* ca

¹⁸ M5: *adds* ca

¹⁹ M5: *om.*

²⁰ M2: taḷākāsu madhurodakaparipuṇṇo sabbattha bhavissati; M5: taḷākādīṃsu sabbatthamadurodakasampunṇo ca bhavissati

pañcakāmaguṇasukhaṃ¹ anubhavantā kasivañijjādi kammavirahitā² sukhena jīvissanti.³ itthī purisā na suttaṃ kantissanti⁴ na tantaṃ vāyissanti⁵ dibbavatthāni nivāsissanti. purisā sadārehi santuṭṭhā⁶ itthiyo⁷ sasāmihehi santuṭṭhā; saṃyamā⁸ purisā paradāraṃ na karonti na itthiyo paraṃ purisaṃ karonti te piyā manāpā aññamaññaṃ bhavissanti. sabbe te gāmanigamadhanadhaññakhattavattupamsuhetu na vivādaṃ karissanti⁹; sabbe manussā surūpā uttamarūpadharā aññamaññaṃ piyā manāpā honti.¹⁰ kākā¹¹ ulukehi saddhiṃ mettacittā majjhāri ca undurehi¹² saddhiṃ mettacittā migā migindehi saddhiṃ mettacittā naṅkulā sappēhi saddhiṃ mettacittā bhavissanti sīhādayo migehehi saddhiṃ mettacittā honti evaṃ aññamaññaṃ paṭisattatiracchānā¹³ sabbe¹⁴ mettacittaṃ labhissanti.¹⁵ yadā¹⁶ sāli ekabijā¹⁷ sañjātā āropitā; dve sakatasahassāni dve

²¹ M5: *adds* pañcavassasattitthiṃ purisānaṃ āvāho ca vivaho ca bhavissati

¹ M5: *om.* guṇa

² M5: *adds* ca

³ M2: jīvanti; M5: *puts here the text about the spontaneous growth of rice. We reproduce it in note 16 below.*

⁴ M2: na suttakantissanti; M5: tadā itthiyo suttaṃ na kantissanti

⁵ M5: vāyissanti

⁶ M5: sadārasantuṭṭhā

⁷ M5: *adds* ca

⁸ M5: *om. the passage between saṃyamā and aññamaññaṃ piyāmanāpā bhavissanti*

⁹ M5: tadā gāmanigamakhettavattupamsudhanadhaññādi hetu vivā na karissanti

¹⁰ M5: *om. this phrase and adds* khattiyā macchā ca sabbe sanāpati-ādayo ca pañcasilāni rakkhissanti

¹¹ M5: *the text is different between kākā and aññamaññaṃ: tadā kākā ca ulukā ca majjhā ca undurā ca miggā ca miggindā ca naṅkulā ca sappāpāti sabbe aññamaññaṃ ...*

¹² M2: majjhāri

¹³ M5: *adds* hi

¹⁴ M5: *om. sabbe and adds* aññamaññaṃ

¹⁵ M5: paṭilabhissanti

¹⁶ *This passage is placed earlier in M5 (see note 3 above), and is slightly different: tadāhi sayamjātasālino ekabijjāya taṇḍulapphalāni dvesakatasahassāni dve ca sakatasatāni sattati ca sakatāni soḷasa ambānāni dve ca tumbādhikā bhavissanti*

sakatasatāni ca dve sakatasattati c' eva ambaṇaṃ soḷasaṃ pi ca atho pi dve ca tumbāni¹ tandulāni pajāyareti.² tadāhaṃ bhante dasasahassacakkavāḷavāsinaṃ devabrahmaṇaṃ āyācanaṃ sutvā kāladesadīpakulamātāyusaṃkhātāni pañcavilokanāni³ viloketvā buddho⁴ manussalokaṃ gamissāmi⁵ ti vatvā attano pāramivaṇṇaṃ⁵ vaṇṇento āha:

ahaṃ hi⁶ paripūretvā pāramiyo anekadhā

kappasatasahassāni⁷ asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa

viriyādhiko⁸ bodhisatto racitvā⁹ demi dānaṃ

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.¹⁰

sīsaṃ me racitaṃ¹¹ katvā añjanaṃ akkhiyugalaṃ

yācānaṃ adādānaṃ kappakoṭisatehi pi¹²

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto andhā na honti mānusa.¹³

racitvā aṅgapaccaṅge¹⁴ dānaṃ datvā asesakaṃ¹⁵

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.¹⁶

na vadāmi musāvādaṃ yācānaṃ avañcanaṃ¹⁷

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na mūgā honti mānusa.¹⁸

¹⁷ M2: ekasāli-ekabijā sayamjātā

¹ M2: tumbhāni

² M2: ca jāyareti

³ M5: pañcamahāvilocanāni

⁴ M5: *om.* buddho

⁵ M5: *om.* vaṇṇaṃ

⁶ M3: pi; M5: *om. hi and writes* paripuretvāna

⁷ M2: kappāsattasahassāhi

⁸ M3: saddhādhiko

⁹ M2: caritvā

¹⁰ M2: me; M3: ca; M5: patto surūpā honti

¹¹ M3: sisameracitaṃ

¹² M3 & M4: ca

¹³ M2 & M5: na andhā honti mānusa; M3: vikalaṅgā na honti ca

¹⁴ M2: caritvā aṅgapañcaṅgaṃ; M5: aṅgapañcaṅge

¹⁵ M5: demi dānaṃ asesatto

¹⁶ M2 & M5: me; M3: ca

¹⁷ M3: na vañcanaṃ; M5: avañcanaṃ

¹⁸ M2 & M5: muggā; M3: muggā honti tadā pana

dhammaṃ sutvā pasīditvā yācakānaṃ kathaṃ suniṃ¹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na badhirā honti mānusa.²
 piyacakkhūhi passāmi silavante ca³ yācake
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na andhā honti mānusa.
 ujaṃ kāyaṃ⁴ karitvā 'haṃ kāle dānādike pana
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na khujjā honti mānusa.⁵
 osadhaṃ⁶ demi sattānaṃ bhayaṃ tesaṃ pi no kare⁷
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā sattā arogino.⁸
 mettaṃ karomi⁹ sattānaṃ bhayasantāsanāsaṃ¹⁰
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā Mārā na honti te.¹¹
 manāpā annapānāni manāpena¹² dadāmi 'haṃ
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samiddhā honti mānusa.
 manāpāni ca vatthāni¹³ manāpena dadāmi 'haṃ¹⁴
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto surūpā honti mānusa.¹⁵
 manāpāni ca yānāni¹⁶ hatthi-assarathāni ca¹⁷

¹ M2, M3 & M5: suṇi

² M3 & M5: na honti badhirā tadā

³ M3 & M5: silavante; M2 & M3: *om.* ca

⁴ M2 & M3: ujukāyaṃ; M5: ujum khāyaṃ

⁵ M3: khujjā honti tadā pana

⁶ M2 & M5: osathaṃ; M3: osatthaṃ

⁷ M5: bhayaṃ tesaṃ vinodayi

⁸ M3: arogino

⁹ M3: mettikaromi

¹⁰ M2: bhayaṃ santāsavināsaṃ; M3: bhayaṃ santākasakaṃ pana (?); M5: bhayasantāsaṃ na kare

¹¹ M2, M3 & M5: me

¹² M2: manāpehi; M3: yācakānaṃ

¹³ M3: *om. this half verse*

¹⁴ M5: *adds here a half verse yācakānaṃ yathākāmaṃ (?), which is unmetrical and seems to be a scribal error*

¹⁵ M3: *om. this verse*

¹⁶ M2: yānāni

¹⁷ M2: hatthi assarūpāni ca; M3: hatthi assā ratthāni ca

dolā ca siviṇṇā cāpi yācakānaṃ dadāmi 'haṃ¹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sukhitaṃ honti mānusa.²
 mocemi bandhanā satte³ dosato dukkhato⁴ pi ca
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto bhujjissā honti pānino.⁵
 samaṃ mettaṃ⁶ karitvā 'haṃ piyesu apiyesu ca⁷
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samā honti mahitalā.⁸
 tosemi yācake sabbe bhojanehi dhanehi ca⁹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sītodakāpuṇṇā nadi.¹⁰
 yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā¹¹ mamaṃ patthenti mānusa¹²
 saṃsārabhayaḥhitā te bhavissaṃ¹³ bhavamocako.¹⁴
 avijjāghorapabhavaṃ¹⁵ mohajālasamākulaṃ¹⁶
 vuyhantaṃ caturoghesu lokaṃ santārayiss' āhaṃ.¹⁷
 kilesapaṇkamakkhite taṇhātaṃkārasevite
 saṃsāradisasamuḷhe mokkhamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.¹⁸
 Sañjive Kālasutte ca¹⁹ Tāpane ca Patāpane²⁰

¹ M3: yācakānaṃ puna punaṃ

² M2: manussā; M3: sattā yanti ca nibbattiṃ

³ M3: bandhanā sa(tte)

⁴ M2: dukkhito

⁵ M3: tadā puñṇāni pānino; M5: bhujjissā

⁶ M2: samamettaṃ; M3: samamettā; M5: samaṃ mettiṃ

⁷ M2 & M3: appiyesu; M2: *om.* ca

⁸ M5: patibalā

⁹ M3: icchitehi dhanehi ca

¹⁰ M3: tadā pūre cindanādiyo ti; M5: sātodakena puṇṇā nadi; M3: *adds* athā metteyo taṃ evaṃ āha

¹¹ M5: kusalakammaṃ katvā

¹² M2: mamaṃ patthenti; M3: mamaṃ pattiṃ; M5: mama patthenti

¹³ M3 & M5: bhavāmi

¹⁴ M2: bhava mocako; M5: bhavamocaye

¹⁵ M3: avijjhāpabhavaghoram

¹⁶ M3: mohajālam samaṃ kulaṃ

¹⁷ M3: lokaṃ santārayi aham

¹⁸ M2, M3 & M5: adesayi

¹⁹ M3: kālam sutte ca; M2: *adds* saṃghāteroruve tadā mahāroruve c'eva

²⁰ M2: tāpanapamahātāpane; M3: tāpane ca (pa)tāpane; M5: patāpena

Aviciniraye satte¹ saggamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.²
 aññābandhanā bandhe taṇhājālavasaṃgate³
 chetvāna bandhanā satte sampāpessāmi⁴ nibbutiṃ.⁵
 micchādiṭṭhikavātena dvāsattīdiṭṭhi-aggalaṃ
 atthaṅgikamaggaṭālena⁶ vivarissāmi paṇīnaṃ⁷
 nibbānanagaradvāraṃ visālaṃ ajarāmaraṃ.⁸
 rāgadosatamonaddha⁹-hatanettānaṃ jantūnaṃ¹⁰
 paññāsallākaṃ¹¹ datvāna nayaṇaṃ¹² sodhayiss' āhaṃ.¹³
 sokāturaṃ sudukkhitaṃ¹⁴ jarāmaraṇapīlitaṃ
 ñāṇosadhavaraṃ¹⁵ datvā tikicchissāmi paṇīnaṃ.¹⁶
 mohandhakārasamulhe¹⁷ sadevāsuraṃ mānusa¹⁸
 ñāṇālokaṃ¹⁹ pharivāna nīharissāmi taṃ tamaṃ.
 apāyesu ca patante²⁰ atāṇe aparāyane²¹

¹ M3: *om.*

² M2, M3 & M5: adesayi

³ M2: jālavassamgate; M3 & M5: māsavassamgate

⁴ M5: sampasomi

⁵ M2, M3 & M5: nibbutiṃ

⁶ M3: atthaṅgamaggaṭāle

⁷ M3: vivarivā mokkhaḍhāraṃ; M5: paṇinā

⁸ M3: *om. this verse*

⁹ M3: rāgamohatamonaddhaṃ; M5: rāgadosatamonuddhaṃ

¹⁰ M3: hantaṃ renattā ca jantunaṃ; M5: hatanettānaṃ jantūnaṃ

¹¹ M2, M3 & M5: salākaṃ

¹² M5: nayaṇaṃ

¹³ M3: *adds* apāyesu pavattantaṃ atāṇaṃ aparāyanaṃ

¹⁴ M2: sokāturassa dukkhitaṃ; M3: sokāturasudakkitaṃ; M5: sokāturadukkitaṃ

¹⁵ M2: satthavaraṃ; M3: satthaṃ varaṃ; M5: sathaṃ varaṃ

¹⁶ M2: tikicchāmi paṇinaṃ

¹⁷ M2: sammulhe; M5: mohajandhakārasamulhe

¹⁸ M2: mānussa; M5: sadovāsuraṃ mānusse

¹⁹ M2: ñāṇālokaṃ; M3: yāṇālokaṃ

²⁰ M2: apāyesu pattantaṃ; M3: *places this verse earlier (see note 13 above);* M5: apāyesu ca pattantaṃ

²¹ M2: attānapparāyanaṃ; M5: attanaṃ aparāyanaṃ

apāyā uddharitvāna¹ dassessāmi parāyanaṃ ti.²
 evaṃ ca³ pana vatvā bodhisatto “yathā ’haṃ, bhante, vadāmi tathā
 manussānaṃ kathetā” ti⁴ sāsanaṃ datvā dasanakkhasamodhāna-
 samujjalakarapūṭamakūlo⁵ sudhotakanakaphalakasadisanaḷāntara-
 supatitthāpitasaṃmujjalitañjalikarapūṭo manoramaṃ⁶ indanīlamanimayaṃ
 Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā pañcaṅga-
 patitthitena⁷ vanditvā therāṃ āpucchitvā koṭisatasahassa⁸-saṃkhāya⁹
 surayuvati¹⁰-suraputtaparisāya¹¹ parivutto tārāṇaparivārīto¹² bahala-
 jaladharapaṭalavirahitakkhaggatalasamudito paripunṇacandamaṇḍalo viya
 virocamaṇo Tusita¹³-puram eva gato.

tena vuttaṃ:

evam anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo cetiyaṃ varaṃ
 pūjetvā puna¹⁴ vanditvā piṭṭhito va patikkami.
 sabbā devaccharā pi ca¹⁵ pūjetvā cetiyaṃ varaṃ

¹ M2: apāya udaritvāna

² M2: dassissāmi; M3: desessāmi parāyanti

³ M3: *the text differs from here up to* punnamāyaṃ yathā cando ... : bhante manusse lokam gantvā yathā mayā kathitaṃ tatheva katheyyāsīti so therāṃ vanditvā āpucchitvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā tusitabhavanaṃ gato sabbā devaparisā pubbapacchimadakkhinatare thitā bodhisattassa parivārayiṃsu tārāṇaparivutto viya gaḷalālapunṇacando devata vuttaṃ pi c’ etaṃ devakaṇṇo pi tādīsā Metteyyaṃ ārivāritvā ...

⁴ M2: kathekatha cā ti

⁵ M2: dasana(kkha)samodānasamujjakaramakulo; M5: dasanakhasamodāna-samūjalaṃ jalakaramalakaramakulo

⁶ M5: ... samujalitakarapūṭañjalimanoramaṃ

⁷ M5: pañcapatitthitena

⁸ M2: koṭisattasahassa

⁹ M2 & M5: saṃkhātāya

¹⁰ M2 & M5: suravati ...

¹¹ M5: suraputtehi parisāya

¹² M2: *om.*; M5: tārāṇaparivutto

¹³ M2 & M5: Tussita

¹⁴ M5: pi

¹⁵ M5: sabbe devagaṇā cāpi

aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā piṭṭhito ca paṭikkamum.¹
 punṇamāyaṃ² yathā cando sarade va virocātī³
 tathā ariyaMetteyyo⁴ devamajjhe virocātī.
 migamajjhe yathā siho⁵ gavamajjhe yath' usabho⁶
 pakkhimajjhe yathā garuddho⁷ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.⁸
 nagamajjhe yathā Meru⁹ sattaratanaṃḍito¹⁰
 naramajjhe cakkavatti¹¹ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.
 tarumajjhe pāricchattako pupphamajjhe kokanado¹²
 maṇimajjhe veduriyo devamajjhe yathā ayaṃ.¹³
 pabbatagge yathā aggi suddhantakanakaṃ yathā¹⁴
 sabbe deve atikkamma vaṇṇatejēna rocātī.¹⁵
 Tusitabhavanaṃ yanto¹⁶ devehi parivārito¹⁷
 dibbasukhaṃ anubhuttvā¹⁸ ciraṃ satte pamodātī ti.¹⁹

¹ M2: piṭṭhito va ca paṭikkamum

² M2 & M5: ulumajjhe; M3: pumamāya

³ M3: saradeti virocātī

⁴ M3: evaṃ hi Metteyyo nātho

⁵ M2, M3 & M5: siho

⁶ M2: gavamajjhe yathā usabho; M3: gavamajjhe 'va usabho; M5: gavamajjhe yathāsabho

⁷ M5: varagaruddho

⁸ M3: naddimajjheva sāgaro

⁹ M3: contains the same verses, but in a slightly different order; M5: nāgamajjhe

¹⁰ M3: devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ

¹¹ M2 & M5: cakkavati

¹² M2 & M3: kokanudo; M5: om. this verse

¹³ M2: om. this half verse

¹⁴ M3: sudantī kaṇṇikā yathā; M5: om. this verse

¹⁵ M2: virocātī; M3: dicchati; M5: om. this verse

¹⁶ M2: Tusitabhavanaṃ yanto; M5: Tusitapabhavayanto

¹⁷ M3: om. this verse

¹⁸ M5: dibbasukhānubhuttvāna

¹⁹ M3: om. this verse, and adds evaṃ anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo devapūjito devadevagaṇāmajjhe punṇacando va gacchātī

tasmim khāṇe yeva¹ thero paramapāṭimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ indriya-
 saṃvarasīlaṃ² sammā jīvapārisuddhasīlaṃ³ paccayasannissitasīlaṃ cā ti
 catupārisuddhasīlādi aparimita⁴-guṇagaṇābharaṇasamalaṅkato indanīla-
 maṇimayaṃ Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ⁵ vanditvā Sakkaṃ devarājanaṃ
 āpucchitvā⁶ ativiyaḍarūṇarāgataṇhā⁷-micchādīṭṭhādi vividha⁸-rukha-
 vanalatākīṇṇaputhuvanagumbālayajā ti⁹ jarāmarañādi¹⁰ dukkhappabhava-
 saṃsāram addhānaṃ¹¹ atikkanto¹² paramasetṭhativijjāpāla¹³-sīsaca-
 tutthajhānavicittapakkhavilāsītavirājitam iddhipāda¹⁴-varapāda¹⁵-
 dvayasubhaggam aṭṭha-vimokkhapaṭisambhidāñāṇa¹⁶-lokiya-
 lokuttarasaddhā¹⁷-pāla¹⁸-sakalalomālaṅkata-deho suvaṇṇahaṃso viya
 sobhamāno tāvatimsabhavanato otaritvā Jambūdīpaṃ āgantvā¹⁹
 anopamāya sāvakaapakatilīlāya gāmanigamarājadhānīsu piṇḍāya pāvisi.
 tena vuttaṃ²⁰:

¹ M3: finishes with a short paragraph which differs a little from the other texts.
 We reproduce it at the end of the variants. See Appendix C; M5: taṃ khāṇe
 ñeva

² M2: om.

³ M2 & M5: om. sammā-

⁴ M5: dharaparamita-

⁵ M5: om. cūlāmaṇi

⁶ M2: pabhāpucchitvā

⁷ M2 & M5: add kilesā

⁸ M5: vicita-

⁹ M5: jana-

¹⁰ M2: adds saṃsā(ra)-; M5: adds saṃsāra-

¹¹ M5: om. saṃsāram addhānaṃ

¹² M2: atikkamanto

¹³ M2 & M5: pala-

¹⁴ M5: dvipāda-

¹⁵ M2: om. varapāda-

¹⁶ M5: yāna-

¹⁷ M2: suddhā-

¹⁸ M2 & M5: pala-

¹⁹ M5: Jambūdīpāgantvā

²⁰ M5: yathāha

tadā so devathero pi āpucchitvā surindakam¹
 cetiyam puna vanditvā otarivāna saggato²
 sobhati hemahamso va³ pun' āgacchati mānussam.⁴
 nigama⁵rājadhānisu bhikkham piṇḍāya pāvisi ti.

so⁶ piṇḍapātaṭikkanto Metteyyassa pavattiṃ Jambūdīpamanussānam
 ārocesi. manussā therassa vacanam sutvā pasannacittā dānādīni puññāni
 katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke pūrayiṃsu. so daliddakapuriso⁷
 aṭṭhaniluppalaḍāyako yāvajjivam⁸ uppaladānam anussarivā manussa-
 lokato cavitvā tāvatimsabhavane⁹ devaccharāhi parikiṇṇe¹⁰ naccagīta-
 pañcaṅgikaturiyasamghuṭṭhe¹¹ sattaratanakhacitte niluppalapāsāde
 nibbatti.¹² tassa akkanta-akkanta¹³-kāle pañcavaṇṇāni uppalāni pade pade
 sampaticchimsu. tassa mukhagandho uppalagandho¹⁴ viya sakaladeva-
 nagaram pavāyi.¹⁵ devā devitthiyo uppalagandham ghāyitvā¹⁶ tam
 sevanti. sabbe devā tassa pade pade sampaticchannam¹⁷ uppalam disvā
 Sakkassa devaraṇṇo ārocesum.¹⁸ Sakko tam¹⁹ tesam katham sutvā
 tuṭṭhacitto hutvā tattha gantvā pucchi “devate, manussaloke kim akāsi

¹ M5: āpucchitvam purindhadam

² M5: saggato ti

³ M5: ca

⁴ M2 & M5: mānussam

⁵ M2: adds vā

⁶ M5: *om. the following passage up to aṭṭhaniluppalaḍāyako*

⁷ M2 & M5: *om.*

⁸ M5: *om.*

⁹ M5: adds niluppalapāsāde

¹⁰ M5: paripuṇṇe and adds dibbativā

¹¹ M5: samkhecumve (?)

¹² M5: *om.*

¹³ M5: atikkanta atikkanta

¹⁴ M5: mukho uppalagandho

¹⁵ M5: vayāsi

¹⁶ M5: gāyitvā and *om.* tam

¹⁷ M2: sampaticchinam; M5: *om.*

¹⁸ M5: ārocayimsu

¹⁹ M5: *om.* tam

puññam¹ evarūpaṃ sampattiṃ labhasi” ti.² yo³ Sakkassa vacanam sutvā
 evam āha “devarāja, aham pubbe manussaloke Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro
 nāma māṇavo⁴ mātaram posento⁵ ekadivasamhi ṇhāpanatthāya⁶ ekam
 saram gantvā tattha⁷ ṇhātvā⁸ aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā
 ekassa bhikkhuno datvā tena⁹ niluppalaḍānena niluppalapāsāde jāto
 ’mhi¹⁰; mama akkanta¹¹-akkantakāle pade pade uppalapuppham¹² jāyati
 mama cakkhudvāyam uppaladadasaḍisaṃ¹³ uppalagandho viya me kāyo
 tena Uppalo nāma devaputto jāto ’mhi” ti. Sakko tassa vacanam¹⁴ sutvā
 pamuditacitto pasannamānaso hutvā¹⁵ tato pi¹⁶ niluppalapupphāni
 gahetvā¹⁷ buddhassa cetiyam¹⁸ pūjesi so Uppaladevaputto¹⁹ yāvajjattanā
 yeva²⁰ hoti.

tena vuttam:

puna bhava pi tam puññam Metteyyass’ eva santike²¹
 dibbasukhañ ca bhuñjitvā pupphadānass’ idam phalam.

¹ M5: so kim katvā

² M2: labhati ti

³ M2 & M5: so

⁴ M2 & M5: *om.* Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo

⁵ M5: posesi

⁶ M2: nahānatthāya

⁷ M5: *om.* tattha

⁸ M2: nahātvā; M5: adds pana

⁹ M5: te ten’ eva uppaladānena

¹⁰ M5: aṭṭhaniluppalapāsāde jāto; M2: jatehi

¹¹ M5: atikkanta

¹² M5: niluppalam

¹³ M2: uppaladasaḍisaṃ; M5: cakkha-uppalasadisam

¹⁴ M5: katham

¹⁵ M5: *om.*

¹⁶ M2: *om.*; M5: so

¹⁷ M5: niluppalam gahetvā

¹⁸ M5: buddhapatimam

¹⁹ M5: *om.* uppala

²⁰ M5: yāvajjhattameva

²¹ M5: Metteyyassa va santike

tasmā hi paṇḍito poso Metteyyabuddhasantike¹
 pāpunituṃ paṇidhāya dānasīlādikaṃ kare.
 yo yo yaṃ yaṃ bodhisattaṃ vacanassānūsārino
 puññaṃ karoti so so ca Metteyyadassanaṃ varam²
 labhissati dukkhass' antaṃ karissati anāgate.
 saṃsāre saṃsaranto pi apāye³ na gamissati ti.

iti Mālayyadevatherassa⁴ vaṇṇanā nitthitā.
 nibbānapaccayo hotu anāgate bhavissanti⁵

† E. Denis

¹ M2: buddhassa

² M5: Metteyyadassanavaram

³ M5: apāyaṃ

⁴ M2: om. deva; M5: ends Māleyyadevavattthu

⁵ M2 & M5: om. this final phrase

Appendix A (see note 7 on page 40)

M3: devarāja Meteyyo kiṃ kammaṃ (= puñña-kammaṃ ?) katvā idaṃ sampatiṃ
 labhati bhante ahaṃ kathaṃ jānitabbaṃ sabbaññābuddho pana sakā (= sakkā ?)
 tassa sampatiṃ vannetuṃ Meteyyo budhassapadaṃ pathetvā loka-
 bhavāmopanatthāya me dhanisambhāraṃ karonto dānadācini (= dānādini ?)
 manussasampatidento anekakoṭikappadānapāramī katvā silarakkhituṃ satta-
 sampatidento jhānaṃ kārinaṃ brahmasampatidento anekakoṭikappa-
 nekkhamapāramī katvā dukkhadassanaṃ sotāpattimaggaphalaṃ dento
 anekakoṭikappapaññāpāramī katvā aniccadassanaṃ sakkhidāgāmamaggaṃ (= sakadāgāmamaggaṃ ?) dento anekakoṭikappavirayapāramī katvā anattāna-
 dassanaṃ (= anattadassanaṃ ?) anāgāmimaggaṃ dento anekakoṭikappa-
 khaṇṭipāramī katvā tisakkhanaṃ upekkhanaṃ arahattaṃ dento aneka-
 koṭikappasaccapāramī katvā paṇavadhavivajitaṃ atthaṅgikaṃ dento aneka-
 koṭikappa-adhiṭṭhānapāramī katvā dukkhadassanaṃ saṃsāranibbānaṃ dento
 anekakoṭikappamettupekkhaṃ katvā anantañānaṃ paṭṭhayaṇo sabbe sattānaṃ
 upanattāya samaṭṭho anatta(= ananta ?)-bodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva
 anantasīlālaṅkāre dento anantabodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva
 kilesasocanaṃ samādhidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe yeva
 pāpachedanaṃ paññāsaṭṭhaṃ dento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe
 yeva saṃsāraṇavattikaṃ vimuttidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ karonto
 anantakappe yeva mokkhaṇṇaṃ nātukāmo ñānaṃ dento ananta-
 bodhisambhāraṃ karonto kappā yeva tayo bodhisattā eko bodhisatto eko
 paññādhiko eko virayādhiko eko saddhādhiko tesu paññādhiko nāma
 kappasatasahassādhikāni koṭicattāri asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi viriyādhiko
 kappasatasahassādhikāni atṭha asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi saddhādhiko pana
 kappasatasahassādhikāni soḷasa asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi Metteyyo pana
 saddhādhiko nāma Metteyyasambhāro (= sambhārā ?) samuddoya (= samuddo
 yathā ?) pāramiyo hoti ekadesena vuttaṃ pi saso samuddo (?) vattati andho yathā
 pabātārohe yeva tasmā bhante na sakkomi tassa sambhāraṃ pakāsetuṃ tathā
 Ariyametteyyo anekasahassaparivārehi āgantvā yojanaparimaṇḍalaṃ
 Cūḷāmuṇicetiyaṇi ca ākāsaparimaṇḍalaṇi ca dibbobhāseṇa pharitvā cetiyaṃ
 padakkhiṇaṃ katvā anekasahassasuriyamaṇḍalaṃ viya sinerapadakkhiṇaṃ katvā
 atṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādihi pūjetvā sattaratanamayāṃ mālāvicittaṃ
 candamaṇḍalaṃ sadisaṃ sisato otāretvā cetiyaṃ pūjetvā pācīnadavāre nisīdi tadā
 cetiyaṇgaṇamālāvicitra(sic)-paripuṇṇa osadhitārakarasi viya ahosi sakala-
 indanagaraṃ ekaganda ahosi bodhisatto yena thero ten' upasaṅkami
 upasaṅkamitvā therāṃ vanditvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi therāṃ etad avoca bhante kuto
 āgato ti ... ?

Appendix B (see note 4 on page 46)

M3: ... mahārāja sodha te vacanam Jambudipamanussā kathessāmi tvam pana kadā buddho bhavissasī ti bhante Gotamabuddhassa sāsanam pañcavassasahassāni thatvā antaradhāyissanti tasmim antarahite loke akusalappanam kusalan ti na jānāti paggeva kusaluppatti tadā manussā virahita-hirotappābhinnamariyādā mā(tā)pitābhaginisaññaṃ anuppā ajjelakukkara-sigālāsonādayo viya nilajjā bhavissanti usannākusalena āyuvassasatam hinam hinā anukammen' eva dasavassāyukā maggedārakā pañcavassā ca pañcavassā va dārakā āvāho vivāho ca tesam dvinnam bhavissati tividho sattantarakappo dubbhikkantarakappo rogantarakappo satthantarakappo idha sattantarakappo vedigañño (= veditabbo ?) tadā manussā aññamaññaṃ miggasaññaṃ patilabhissanti hattena gahita ubhato dhārākhurasadisam āvudhā bhavissati te aññamaññaṃ paharivā vinassanti tesu ye manussā pañḍitā pathamam eva tam vināsam sutvā sattāham yāpadāhāram gahetvā pabbatakandarādisu pavisitvā niliyissan ti tesu thapetvā avasesā sattāham aññamaññaṃ paharivā vinassanti sakalapathavī ekamaṅgalakikā bhavissati atha sattāham divase atikante attano attano niliyitathānā nikkhamitvā aññamaññaṃ visālam labhitvā ālīngitvā samaggaṃ patilabhitvā yanuna mayam kusalakammaṃ kareyyāma paṇātipātā virameyyāma adinnādānā kāmesu micchācarā musāvādā pīsuññāvācā pharusavācā sampapphalāvācā abhijjā byāpādā micchādītthiyā pa(tī)virameyyāmā ti ime dasakusalakammaṃ paṭisamodhānetvā te puretum ārabhisu athā dasavassāyukānam manussānam visativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti atha bhiyyo tesu dhammaṃ puretesu tiṃsacattālisapaññāsā ti anukammena dve vassasatāyukā bhavissanti tīnicattāripaṇcacasatta-aṭṭhanavavassasahassā dvetīnicattāripaṇcadasavisati-tiṃsacattālisapañcasatthīsattati-asitīvassasahassāni vadanti nava-tiṃsavassasahassā aṭṭhamanusse su atirekataram dhammaṃ carantesu vassasatasahassā āya (= āyukā ?) bhavissanti atirekataram dhammaṃ carantesu vassakoṭisahassā āyu(kā) bhavissanti tathā sattānam jarāmarāṇam na paññāyanti puna pi pamādam āpajjanti tesam āyam parihāyissanti asamkheyya ayam pa(ri)hāyitvā vassakoṭisahassā tato satasahassam parihāyitvā navutti-vassasahassā asitīvassasahassam vathassanti tasmi samaye devo aghamāsam anuddasāham anupañcahañ ca majjhimayāme paṭhavirasam vadento vassati tadā jambudipam sabbattha samiddho hoti yadā padamāniccākālam thulālatāgumbapādapattalabharitā kukkuṭasāpātīkagāmaniggamarājadhāni samākinno corakaṇḍakavirahito appaggaṭatīṭhigahano rājadhāni samujjalito sabbaratana-sampanno subhikkho khemo bahu-annapānakhajabhojanam seyya meyya macchamaṇṣāsī upabhogaparibhogasamiddho bhante yadayajāpatikā avivādakā ako(dha)nā honti pañcakāmasukham anubhavanti tadā manussaloke gamissāmi yadā sabbaparisā kasinabijā akarontā sabbabhogaṃ anubhavantā tadā manussaloke gantvā tadā ittiyo na suttaṃ kantiṃ pi rukkhe dibbavattehi

nivāsento tadā m(an)ussalokaṃ gantvā yadā manussalokhattiyā amacchā senā patādayo rakkhanti pañca silāni tadā manussalokaṃ gantvā yadā ittisāmikena santutthā purisā paradāram na karonti ittiyo aññehi kāmam na karonti te manussalokaṃ gantvā idāni attano pāramivaṇṇento āha ...

Appendix C (see note 1 on page 57)

M3: thero Meteyyassa gamanam varam pasitvā devarajānam āpucchitvā cetiyam vandhitvā Jambudipam sampatto Kambujagāmaṃ pindāya pavisi piṇḍipātam gahetvā pattikanto tato patthāya Meteyyassa va pavuttiṃ Jambudipamanussānam ārocesi manussā therassa vacanam sutvā dānādini puññāni katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke puriyimsu so upaladāyako tena tāvatimsabhavane pupphapāsāde devapuripinṇe nibbatti naccagitapañcaṅgikaturiyasamghutte akkantakale pañcavaṇṇa-upalāni pade pade jātā tassa upalagando viya mukkho sakaladevanagare vāyati Sakko pagevā tassa pade pade upalam disvā tutthacitto ahesum Sakko āha devate pubbe kiṃ akāsi puññaṃ evam rūpaṃ sampattilabhasī ti Upaladevaputto yathā tathā visajjhesi Sakko tam vacanam sutvā pamuditacitto upalapupphāni gahetvā cetiyam pujesi sakālayam tato vassati ti tena pathamasāṅgitikācariyājīnadesitam dhammaṃ saddhāya pasādajanatthāya kathento āha ye suṇantiṃ sa sakkaccaṃ Vessantaram jinadesitam ye ca karonti puññāni silādini padāyaka te subhanti passayyam Mettayyasugataṃ varanti

Māleyyadevattheravaṇṇanā nitthitā

brah Māleyyayavalelāchapappabissantā (?)

buddham saranam gacchāmi

dhammam saranam gacchāmi

sangham saranam gacchāmi

iti pi so bhaggavā a(ra)ham sammāsambuddho vijā

Appendix D (see Introduction page 7)

anekadevaputtā pi

Meteyyam parivāretvā

puñnamāyam yathā cando

vaṇṇarūpena ten' eva

evam anomavaṇṇo so

devamajjhe gato santo

devakaññā pi tādisā

gacchanti tathāmbare

sarade kāle va bhānumā

devamajjhe virocati

Meteyyo lokapuṇḍavo

pajjalanto pi āgato

so āgantvā Cūlāmanicetiyaṃ vanditvā padakkhiṇam katvā Maliyadevathera upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā ekamante tiṭṭho theram pucchi bhante āgacchathā ti Jambudipā mahārājā ti kiṃ bhante Jambudipāmanussā mamaṃ sambhaventi sambhaneti (= sambhāventi) mahārājā ti

yadā hi kusalam katvā

Meteyyass' eva buddhassa

tuyham bhāventi bodhiyam

dassanam bhavatu sabbadā ti

Metteyyo bodhissato evaṃ āha
 yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā
 saṃsārabhayabhūtaṃ
 avijjāya mahāghoraṃ
 vuyhantaṃ caturaghehi
 kilesapaṇkamakkhite
 saṃsāradisaṃmūlhe
 sañjive kālasutte ca
 aññānabandhanābaddhe
 chetvāna bhandanaṃ satte
 micchadiṭṭhikavāṭehi
 aṭṭhaṅgamaḡgatalehi
 rāḡadosatamonaddhaṃ
 paññāsalākaṃ datvāna
 sokāturaṇaṃ dukkhīnaṃ
 ñānosadhavaṃ datvā
 mohandhakārasaṃmūlhe
 ñāñālokaṃ karitvāna
 lokāṃ apāyabandhantaṃ (baddhaṃ taṃ) attānaṃ tampaṃrayanaṃ
 apāyā uddharitvāna
 mama pathenti mānusa
 bhavāmi bhayaṃmocaḡo
 mohajālasamaḡalaṃ
 lokassa' antaṃkaro ahaṃ
 taṇhātakkarasevite
 dhammaṃ sudesayissa' ahaṃ
 tāpane pune tāpane
 taṇhāsāvasaṃḡate
 saṃpāpessaṃmi nibbutiṃ
 dvāsatthiḡi haṇaraṃ ḡataṃ
 vivaṃssaṃmi paṇīnaṃ
 pāvetvā nantaḡantaṃ
 nayaṇaṃ soḡhayissa' ahaṃ
 jarāmaṇaḡpīlitaṃ
 tūkiḡhissaṃmi paṇīnaṃ
 saḡdevāsuramaṇuse
 viḡdhaṃssaṃmi taṃ tamaṃ
 ḡassayissaṃmi paṃrayanaṃ

THE STORY OF THE ELDER MĀLEYEYADEVA

Translated by Steven Collins

Honour to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Enlightened One ! Bowing to the excellent Buddha, (who is) to be revered by gods and men, to the Teaching which originates from the Happy One,¹ and to the virtuous Monastic Order, I will undertake (to tell) in brief the story of Māleyya, replete with supreme(ly good) advice² and edifying for all.

In the past, the story goes, in the island of Tambapaṇṇi, (also) called the isle of Lankā, where the (Three) Jewels were established, a certain elder by the name of Māleyyadeva, famous for the excellence of his supernatural power and knowledge, lived in Rohana province supported by (alms given in) the village of Kamboja. The elder repeatedly brought back news of the beings roasting in hell: recounting (this news) to their relatives he inspired them to make merit by alms-giving and the like, and he made them aim for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (hell-beings). By the force of his supernatural power he travelled to both heaven(s) and hell(s): after seeing the great majesty of laymen and women in heaven who had faith in the Three Jewels, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a layman or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a heaven and experienced great happiness; after seeing the great suffering of miscreants in hell, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a man or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a hell and experienced great suffering. People gained faith in the

¹ On *sugata* as an epithet of the Buddha see Norman (90: 154), who renders it 'one who is) in a (particularly) good way'.

² For *naya* as 'advice' see Ñāṇamoli (62: xli-xliii), who translates more literally as 'guide-line'.

teaching and did no evil; they dedicated merit (acquired through) almsgiving and the like to their dead relatives, and aimed for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (dead relatives).

One day the elder got up in the morning, took his robe and bowl and went to the village to collect alms. In the village (lived) a poor man (who) looked after his mother. At the (same) time he went out from the village to bathe; he came to a pond, took his bath, and saw eight blue lotus flowers. He picked them, got out of the pond, and started on his way (back). Then he saw the elder coming (towards him) bowl in hand, (looking) calm, restrained, well-controlled, his senses mastered, with perfect bearing. Joy and delight arose in him, and he went up to the elder and greeted him respectfully with his hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together. With great faith he gave the flowers to the elder, and made an aspiration in this verse:

By this gift of flowers, wherever I am (reborn) in a hundred thousand births, may I not be poor !

The elder took the eight blue lotus flowers, and gave thanks in this verse:

Whatever (a person) gives with a faithful mind, whether coarse or choice,¹ has a successful result according to (the donor's) wish.

¹ This rendering of *lūkhaṃ paṇītaṃ vā* is taken from Masfield's (89: 91) translation of the phrase at Vv-a 64.

After giving thanks (thus) the elder (first) reflected¹: 'Where shall I place these eight blue lotus flowers on a shrine — on top of a mountain, at (the place of the Buddha's) final nirvāṇa, at (the foot of) the Great Bodhi-tree or at the place where the Blessed One set in motion the Wheel of the Supreme Law²?' Then he thought: 'I have worshipped (at) these places seven times (each); what if I were to worship at the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in heaven?'

Immediately after thinking this, the elder attained the fourth meditation level, which is the basis for supernatural knowledge; emerging from it he flew along the path of the wind and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers reached the terrace around the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in the city of the Thirty-three gods, made beautiful by the (surrounding) land's being adorned with seven precious things³; Sakka,

¹ Reading *evaṃ samacintesi* with M3.

² 'Shrine' translates *cetiya*; the translation omits the first *vā*, and takes *udāhu* as an interrogative introducing the list of alternative sites in the locative. (Sih III p. 5 has *kuhiṃ āropessāmi mahācetiye udāhu cetiyagiriṇṇabate udāhu mahābodhimhīti punassa etad ahoṣi*.) Denis translated here 'Ou déposerai-je ces huit fleurs de lotus ? aux pieds du cetiya, situé sur la Montagne, ou à celui situé à l'endroit du Parinirvāṇa, ou à celui situé près du grand arbre de la Bodhi, ou à celui situé à l'endroit de la mise en route de la roue de la Loi incomparable ?' In a note he refers to the fact that four 'shrines' commonly grouped together in this way are the sites of the Buddha's birth at Lumbinī, his Enlightenment, First Sermon and final Nirvāṇa. He remarks that the order is different here, and that the site of his birth is 'curiously replaced by the cetiya "placed on the mountain"', speculating that this might refer to the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya on Mt. Meru, in the heaven of the Thirty-three. He notes that manuscript M4 omits both this and the Parinirvāṇa cetiya, while M3 omits the latter; and states that 'the Siamese translation of the *Tikā Māleyyadevathera*' (*sic*) mentions only three cetiya-s: those at the top of a mountain, at the place of the Parinirvāṇa and of the First Sermon, while 'the Siamese text of the Pra Malay' mentions only the cetiya at the Bodhi-tree.

³ The long compound is difficult to analyse satisfactorily. The seven 'precious things' (literally 'jewels') are: gold, silver, pearl, gems, beryl, diamonds, and coral.

king of the gods, had reverently caused (this) delightful sapphire (shrine) to be set up, so that all the gods could worship (there). The Blessed One himself had cut off his top-knot (of hair) with a sword grasped in his cotton-soft, webbed hand, and had thrown it into the air with the aspiration 'if I am to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha may my top-knot not fall to the ground'; it did not fall to the ground, and (Sakka) caught it in a splendid gold casket which he carried on his own head (and then made the shrine for it). (The elder) worshipped (at the shrine) with the eight lotus flowers, walked around it keeping it to his right, paying reverence to the eight directions and with a five-fold prostration,¹ and sat down on the eastern side. Thus it is said:

He attained the fourth meditation level, the basis for supernatural knowledge, and emerging from it rose up instantly² into the sky like a golden swan; in the time it takes to snap one's fingers he arrived at the shrine in front of (the) Vejayanta palace, (where he) worshipped and paid reverence.³

At that moment Sakka, king of the gods, came with his retinue and worshipped the right tooth of the Blessed One and the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine with various kinds of garlands, perfumes, ointments and the like;

¹ This has been taken to refer to (i) 'touching the ground with forehead, waist, elbows, knees and feet' (PED citing Childers, s.v. *pañca-paṭiṭṭhita*), (ii) a 'kneeling añjali salute in which the forehead, edges of the hands and the knees touch the ground' (Masefield 89: 32 note 22), or (iii) touching the ground with forehead, elbows and knees (Bareau 62: 251).

² Reading *uggamma* with M2.

³ M3 and M4 omit this paragraph and read more simply: 'The elder rose up into the sky on that very day and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers stood in front of the Vejayanta palace [reading *thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā acchārasaṃghātamattam pi ...*; for *tadahe va* see CPD s.v. *aha*]. He saw the shrine and feeling joy paid reverence to it; he worshipped with the eight blue lotus flowers, walked around (it) keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions and stood at one side'.

seeing the elder sitting down he went up to him, paid reverence and sat down to one side. All the groups of gods paid reverence to the shrine, walking around it keeping it to the right, (and then) paid reverence to the elder and sat down all around (him); so too did all the divine maidens, who paid reverence to the elder with a five-fold prostration. Sakka, king of the gods, asked the elder: 'Sir, where have you come from?' 'Great king, I have come from the Rose-Apple island¹ to pay reverence to the shrine.' Then the elder asked Sakka: 'Did you have the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine set up?' 'Yes, venerable sir, I had it set up to be worshipped by the gods.' The elder asked: 'King of the gods, these gods did good deeds in the human world and were reborn here to enjoy divine happiness; why do they make merit now?' 'Venerable sir, these gods make merit in the desire to go beyond the world of the gods.'² Sir, gods who are of little merit do not remain long in heaven, just as a few grains put in a wooden trough are quickly used up; whereas gods who are of much merit remain long in heaven, just as a lot of grain put in a granary remains (there) for a long time and is not used up. Similarly, sir, just as people with little wealth (but) with a lot of skill and knowledge, if they engage in farming, trade and the like make a living without difficulty, gods of little merit who enjoy (its) result (but) then make further merit experience heavenly happiness afterwards. Venerable sir, wealthy people with no skill or knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like, (soon) use up their wealth and afterwards become quite poor: in just the same way gods of much merit who experience (its) result without making further merit afterwards are born in a poor state. Just as poor people with no

¹ *Jambudīpa*, the continent south of the cosmic centre Mt. Meru, corresponding (at least) to what are now India and Sri Lanka.

² I have previously rendered *devaloka* simply as 'heaven'. In this context there is, perhaps, some ambiguity as to whether *upari* means 'above', in the sense that the gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three wish to be reborn higher in the cosmic scale, in one of the Brahma-worlds, or whether it means 'beyond' in the non-spatial sense of transcending heavenly rebirth in *nirvāṇa* (perhaps by means of rebirth on earth at the time of Metteyya). See text below.

skill and knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like become (even) poorer, so too gods of little merit who experience (its) fruit without making further merit become (even) poorer; (conversely) just as rich people with a lot of skill and knowledge who engage in farming, trade or the like prosper even more, so too gods of much merit who give alms, practise morality, and so on, go upstream (in the stream of life) and prosper, (even) as far as *nirvāṇa*.’

When the elder heard this he was pleased, and asked Sujā’s husband (i.e. Sakka): ‘Great king, all the gods have come to pay reverence at the shrine of the Blessed One; is the future Buddha Metteyya coming?’ ‘Yes, venerable sir.’ ‘When will he come?’ ‘Sir, he has come (in the past) on the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth days (of the lunar month).’ ‘So — today being the eighth — is he coming (today)?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ While the elder was thus conversing with Sakka, a junior god came with a hundred-fold retinue to worship at the shrine. The elder saw the junior god arrive and asked Sakka: ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else, sir.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a poor grass-cutter who (once) when eating a leaf used for wrapping food¹ gave one piece as an offering to a crow; after doing even so small a meritorious deed he moved on (through life) in the human

¹ If *bhattapūtaṇ* is correct, it is the direct object of *bhuñjivā*; the word usually refers to a leaf used for wrapping cooked rice, and I assume the point is that the man is so poor this is all he has to eat. The word *ekapiṇḍika* then refers not to one ball of rice but to one piece of the leaf given as ‘alms-food’ to the crow. Denis renders more simply ‘comme il mangeait un sachet de riz bouilli, il en donna une portion à un corbeau’.

(realm) which ends in death, and was then reborn (here) because of it.¹

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an animal such as a crow, as a result of even that gift the giver receives a hundred(-fold).

The junior god came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the eastern side.

Immediately afterwards another junior god came to worship at the shrine of the Blessed One with a thousand-fold retinue, illuminating all the regions with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him and asked Sakka ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a young brahmin by the name of Gopāla; (once) when eating he gave a portion to a cowherd, and through that gift he has been born (here) with a retinue of a thousand. He has come with (his) thousand(-fold retinue) to worship at the shrine.

Therefore it is said:

¹ I derive *sarivā* from *sar*, to move, flow (as in *samsāra*); Denis seems to have taken it as being from *sar*, to remember, since he translates the last line ‘s’en étant souvenu au moment de la mort, il a transmigré et est re-né ici’, although it is unclear whether his last two verbs gloss *upapajjati* (mss. *uppapajjati*) or he was taking *sarivā* in both the senses mentioned here.

Whoever gives a gift to those who are without virtue and of little merit, as a result of even that gift receives a thousand(-fold).

He arrived, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the western side.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of ten thousand, illuminating the whole shrine area with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same replies]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, (once) in a former life he gave alms to a virtuous novice, and through the maturation of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an ordinary person¹ who is virtuous, as a result of even that gift the giver receives ten thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the southern side.

¹ Reading *puthujjane* with M2 and M4; i.e. someone who has not advanced to any of the stages of the Buddhist spiritual path.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of twenty thousand, illuminating the whole area of space¹ with the splendour of his body and his ornamentation. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka explained his meritorious deed in this verse:

This one gave alms to a monk on his alms-round at (one) time (in the past); because of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to a virtuous monk, as a result of that same (gift) the giver receives twenty thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the northern side.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of thirty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was formerly a weaver in Anurādhapura, who lived a life of purity (and was) well-known as (a person) of great merit; at various places he cremated the bodies of the dead, and transferred to (each dead person) the merit acquired through

¹ *Ākāsa-maṇḍala*, lit. 'circle of space'; for the term in meditative visualisation see Vism 175 (PTS ed., = HOS V 26).

giving¹ to the virtuous gifts (such as) medicine, almsfood, robes and lodgings. Because of this meritorious action he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of forty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was a very wealthy man² (called) Haritāla, generous and virtuous, who lived a life of faith³ in the village of Haritāla; he gave medicine, robes, food and drink to the virtuous, and by the maturation of these deeds was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ Literally 'having cremated the bodies of dead people here and there and dedicating (to them) the (merit acquired through) gift(s), he gave ...'. The verb *uddissati*, 'to point out' or 'refer to', also has the specialised meanings of designating the recipient of a gift or of the transferred merit acquired from a gift (see CPD s.v.); *dakkhiṇā* simply means 'gift', but is common, in the *Peta-vatthu* for example, as a term for what PED calls (s.v. *dakkhiṇā*) 'a donation given to a "holy" person with ref. to unhappy beings in the Peta existence, intended to induce the alleviation of their sufferings; an intercessional, expiatory offering'. I assume therefore that the weaver is being said to have transferred merit to the dead he cremated by giving gifts to 'the virtuous'. As Denis points out in a note, the force of *tahim tahim* is probably that these were either abandoned corpses or those of people who had no relatives to bury them.

² *Mahāseṭṭhi*, a 'great' banker or merchant.

³ Reading *saddhājivena* with M2 and M4.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with fifty¹ thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was (re)born as king Saddhātissa in the island of Tāmbapaṇṇi, the brother of Abhayaduṭṭha²; serene in mind and respectful to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order, permanently restrained in the five (rules of) virtue and observing the eight Precepts on Uposatha day(s),³ giving to the virtuous, devoted to liberality, not stingy⁴; by the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of sixty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

¹ Reading *paññāsa-sahasseehi* with M3 and M4.

² i.e. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, destined to be at the right side of Metteyya as his first chief disciple; Saddhātissa was destined to be at Metteyya's left, as his second chief disciple; see DPPN s.v.

³ Reading *pañcasīle* [for -sīle] *saññāmo niccam*, with *saññāmo* (= *saṃyamo*) as an adjective: cp. text p. 40 line 2 and p. 50 line 4, translation p. 81 and note 3, p. 88 and note 2.

⁴ Reading *dadānam* ... *amaccharo*, and taking *dadānam* as a present participle.

Abhayaduṭṭha by name, a provider of the four requisites (to monks), he paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; he had a relic-shrine built for the Tathāgata and (a sprig of) the Bodhi-tree planted, gave gifts to monks for the sake of (transferring merit to) his mother and father,¹ giving lavishly to the virtuous and beggars. He died a reverent death² and was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of seventy³ thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

In a former life he was a novice (monk), diligent and wise, who paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; untiringly night and day he constantly provided the Order with hot and cold water, brooms and lamps. By the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ See note 1 on p. 74 on *dakkhiṇā*.

² The story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's death and entrance into the Tusita heaven, which he delayed in order to listen to monks reciting, is told in the Mahāvamsa Chap. 32.

³ Reading *sattati*-.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of eighty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Born into a family of poor (people), he lived on what was given (to him) by others. (Whenever) he saw a monk on his alms-round he would stand (in front of) other people's houses and alert (any) house-owner who was unaware (that a monk was there) with elegant words (such as): 'master, a venerable virtuous (monk) is standing at the doors of (your) house, give generously whatever alms-food you have to this excellent (person)'. On hearing this the house-owner would say to him kindly 'Well spoken, my friend, I will give almsfood; take almsfood and present it to the elder'. By speaking in this way he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of ninety thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers].¹ Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

¹ Denis' text, based on M1, omits Sakka's reply *n' eso bhante ti* here, but this is a scribal error: it is found in M2, M3 and M4.

In Tambapaṇṇi Island, in Kaṇṇikārika village, he saw a stūpa of the Tathāgata¹ and worshipped it with a Kaṇṇikāra (flower), and with his eyes as a lamp, his head as (a bunch of) flowers, his voice as incense and his mind as perfume²; by the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of a hundred thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Formerly he was a poor grass-cutter in Anurādhapura who refrained from killing, was good and established in the (Three) Refuge(s); he followed a proper livelihood by cutting grass and fire-wood. On one occasion when he had gone alone to the river he saw (some) silver sand; he carried it away, built a shrine and said happily: 'Oh, my shrine is beautiful ! It sparkles like a beryl, (it) shines and blazes like a fire; (it is so) beautiful it stirs the heart, (it is) lovely, glorious: I worship the excellent shrine I made with sand, I honour it with body, speech and mind, (as well as) with flowers'. He fed virtuous (monks) and gave (them) what he had. By the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ Reading *tathāgatahūpaṃ* with M2 and M4.

² Assuming *sugandhinā*.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

End of the first (section of the) story of Māleyya, dealing with the twelve junior gods.

Then the noble Metteyya, the future Buddha, came down from the Tusita realm to worship at the shrine. He was attended by millions upon millions¹ of junior gods and goddesses, who shone with a light brighter than that of the moon with its thousand rays; he (himself) shone like a full moon in a cloudless autumn sky, surrounded by clusters of stars. They were (all) holding lamps, incense, perfumes and garlands.² His celestial radiance filled the whole city of the Thirty-three (gods) with light, gave off a celestial smell, and with his characteristic incomparable grace and charm he came to the shrine-terrace, walked around it keeping it to his right, paid reverence to and worshipped the eight directions, and sat down on the western side. Therefore it is said:

Then the noble Metteyya (came), attended by tens of millions, with a hundred divine young maidens in front, a hundred behind, a hundred to his right and to his left. Metteyya in their midst was like the moon in the midst of stars; everywhere was illuminated by the rays of the divine maidens and of their jewels, like the light from ten million moons.

¹ *Koṭisatasahassa*, 'one hundred thousand crores'; a crore is usually taken to be ten million.

² Reading *-ādāni* with M2, M3 and M4. I have not followed the exact order of the Pali here, for the sake of smooth English.

The elder saw the future Buddha from afar, and asked Sakka 'King of the gods, is this Metteyya the future Buddha ?' 'Yes, sir.' 'King of the gods, these divine young girls coming in front of Metteyya, with their (shining) white rays, clothes and jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human world ?' Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Venerable sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by giving gifts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave white clothes, white garlands, white perfumes and ointments, and white food to the excellent Buddha's monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit and again questioned Sakka: 'King of the gods, these divine young girls coming on the right of Metteyya, with (golden-)yellow rays, (golden-)yellow clothes and wearing golden jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human (world) ?' Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by keeping the (moral) precepts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave yellow clothes, yellow garlands, yellow perfumes and ointments, and yellow food to the excellent Buddha's monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again questioned Sakka [in a similar way, about the divine young girls to Metteyya's left, with red rays, clothes and jewels]. Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching¹ on Uposatha day, and gave red clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and red food to the excellent Buddha's monks; they honoured the Three Jewels and (so) are coming on Metteyya's left.

[Again the elder praised their deeds and then questioned Sakka about the divine girls behind Metteyya, with dark-coloured rays,² etc.] Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching on Uposatha day, and gave dark-coloured clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and dark food to the excellent Buddha's monks; with restraint, shining,³ they are coming behind Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again asked Sakka 'What merit did Metteyya make that he should have attained such happiness ?' Sakka's capacity to elucidate⁴ Metteyya's merit can be

¹ Either taking *supūjitā* in an active sense, as Denis suggests, or reading *supūjetvā* with M3 (here and in next verses). See note 3 below.

² *Sāma*, Skt. *śyāma* can refer to a number of dark colours. Denis chooses 'blue', perhaps because, as K.R. Norman writes (personal communication) 'other references to groups of people with different coloured robes, etc., usually have blue, yellow, red, white, which would suggest that *sāma* might be taken as = *nīla* "blue"'.
³ As Denis remarks, *saṃyamā* must be taken as an adjective here. He derives *saṃvibhātā* from *vi-bhaj*, to give a share (of), and says that this, like *supūjitā* in the previous verses, is a past participle used actively. The past participle passive from *vi-bhaj* is usually *vibhatta*, however, and I prefer to derive the form from *vi-bhā*, to shine. K.R. Norman suggests (personal communication) that *supūjitā* may be *metri causa* for the absolutive *supūjitvā*.

⁴ *-opamāya ca paññāya pakāsetvā*, literally 'elucidating it with an understanding comparable to ...'. I have broken up the long Pali sentence, which is not without linguistic problems, into more manageable English.

compared to a hare (trying to) cross the ocean, or a blind man (trying to) climb a mountain, but he elucidated it briefly (as follows): there are three (types of future Buddha), called those who excel in faith, those who excel in wisdom, and those who excel in energy; Metteyya is one who excels in energy.¹ (All) future Buddhas, by means of the three-fold good conduct (consisting in) control of body, speech and mind, accumulated over many ages,² fulfil thirty perfections altogether: ten (ordinary) perfections, ten higher perfections, and ten perfections in the ultimate sense. The perfection of generosity comprises the sacrifice of wealth, children and wife [= ordinary perfection], the sacrifice of (one's own) limbs [= higher perfection] and the sacrifice of (one's) life [= perfection in the ultimate sense]³; and correspondingly (there are three levels of) the perfections of morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, loving-kindness and equanimity. He spoke these verses:

The merit which Metteyya the future Buddha made over and over again — not (even) the excellent omniscient Buddhas could describe it (all) — cannot be told (even) partially, just as a hare crossing the ocean or a blind man climbing a mountain would

¹ This classification of bodhisattvas would seem to be a Southeast Asian invention, found elsewhere in published Pali texts only at the very end of the *Dasabodhisattuddesa* (Martini (36): text p. 335, transl. pp. 367–68), where it is associated with three kinds of person, from a group of four, found in earlier literature (A II 135, Pp 41, Nett 7). The alternative version of this section cited in Appendix A from M3 says that Metteyya was 'one who excels in faith', although Denis gives no alternative for *thāmādhiko* in the following verses from that ms.

² Reading *anappakappopacita-kāyavācīmānopanihita-tividhasucaritena*.

³ There is a certain amount of confusion in different texts as to which actions constitute which level of the perfections. This doubtless arises because the prefix *upa-* often denotes a 'minor' level of what it is prefixed to, whereas the term *upapāramī* occurs second in the list: compare Ja I 25 and Bv-a 59 with Bv-a 113, and cf. Cp-a 272. I follow Horner (78: 89 and note 1, 162–63) in taking *upa-* in the sense of 'superior' (cf. CPD s.v.) or 'higher'.

not attain (their) goal¹: in the same way Metteyya's merit is infinite, boundless, (since) he accumulated the necessary conditions (for enlightenment) completely, during many aeons. There are three (kinds of) future Buddhas: one is known as he who excels in energy,² who fulfils all perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the second) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in faith, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and eight uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the third) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in wisdom, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and four uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment. The future Buddha Metteyya is known as one who excels in energy; he has fulfilled all the perfections during a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and has been reborn in the Tusita (heaven): when he dies from that body (and is reborn on earth) he will attain Full Enlightenment.

While the elder was conversing thus with Sakka, Metteyya came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., paid reverence with the five-fold prostration, and sat down on the eastern side. The future Buddha saw the elder sitting down there, paid reverence to him and asked 'Where have you come from, venerable Sir?' 'I have

¹ This is clearly the sense of *patiṭṭhā* here, although it is an unusual use of the word. Similarly, the general sense is quite clear in the sentence as a whole, despite the inelegant syntax of the Pali.

² In the prose version *virīya* appears here in place of *thāma*; they can be regarded as synonyms.

come from the Rose-Apple Island, great king.' 'Venerable Sir, what is happening among the human beings in Rose-Apple Island?' The elder answered his question by saying:

Everyone there lives according to their (past) deeds, rich and poor, happy and unhappy, attractive and unattractive, long-lived and short-lived. The rich are few, the poor are many; the happy are few, the unhappy many; the attractive are few, the unattractive many; the long-lived are few, the short-lived many. Human beings are few, there are more animals; that is why I say that everyone lives according to their (past) deeds.

The future Buddha heard what the elder said (and asked) 'Sir, do the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make much merit or demerit?' 'Great king, those who make merit are few, there are more who do evil.' 'Sir, how do they make merit?' He explained 'Great king, some human beings in Rose-Apple Island give alms, some preserve morality, (or) give the gift of The Truth, keep the Uposatha day(s), make images of the Buddha, build monasteries or residences (for the Order), give rains-residences, robes, almsfood (or) medicine, tend the Bodhi-tree, build stūpas, shrines, parks (for the Order), causeways (or) walkways (for meditation), dig wells (or) canals, give (the monastic) requisites (or) the ten-fold gift,¹ look after their mother and father, offer sacrifice for the sake of dead relatives, worship the Three Jewels, have their son enter the Monastic Order (as a novice),² or worship the Buddha-image: the

¹ Lists of gifts, varying in number, are found in the texts (e.g. A IV 239, Nidd I 373, Nidd II 233; the number ten is given at Pv-a 7); without citing a source Denis gives food, drink, lodging, clothes, vehicles, garlands, ointments, perfumes, seats and lamps.

² All mss. apart from M2 add here *keci dhammaputtam pabbājenti*, 'some have a son in the Teaching (?) enter the Monastic Order (as a novice)', which I do not understand. Perhaps *dhammaputta* refers to a novice, and the verb is repeated in

human beings in Rose-Apple Island do all these deeds of merit, according to their capacity, their strength and their inclination'. 'Sir, when the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make merit in these ways, what wishes do they make?' The elder recounted¹ their aspirations in these words:

Your Highness,² when they make even a (small) measure of merit, or cause others to make merit, or transfer their merit to others, they make an aspiration for enlightenment (in relation) to you: 'by the merit acquired through giving, morality and the like, may we gain sight of the Buddha Metteyya himself, (and) while the Buddha Metteyya is not reborn (on earth, but remains in heaven) worshipped by the gods, may we, moving through rebirths, never go to a hell'. In this way the human beings in Rose-Apple Island, everywhere and always, make merit and then make an aspiration with regard to you.

The future Buddha, joyful to hear (this) news of human beings in Rose-Apple Island, said 'Sir, let everyone who wishes to see me when I have attained Omniscience listen to a complete recitation in one day of the Great Vessantara Birth-Story; if they worship with a thousand lamps or a thousand lotuses, a thousand blue lotuses, blue water-lilies, Mandāra-flowers, flax-flowers, a thousand banners, parasols, flags or vehicles, and bring everything to worship the Teaching, they will attain arahantship along with the analytical insights at the time of my Enlightenment (and) in my presence'. Then he

error for *upasampādentī*; the phrase would then refer to monks ordaining their novices in the second and higher Ordination.

¹ Reading *kathento* with M2 and M3.

² The vocative *deva*, literally 'god' applies directly to Metteyya in his present birth in the Tusita heaven; since it is also regularly used as a form of address to kings, in the light of Māleyya's having previously called him 'great king' (*mahārāja*) I adopt this rendering here.

recounted how evil humans would not attain the sight of his Buddhahood, in these verses:

(Those who) violently mistreat nuns, make a schism in the Order, commit the five actions which bring immediate retribution,¹ destroy a stūpa or Bodhi-tree,² murder a future Buddha or take away the peace of the Order: (these) wicked and negligent beings will not be in my presence.

The elder listened to these words and said 'Great king, what you said was good ! I will recount (it) to the human beings in Rose-Apple Island. But when will you become Buddha ?' 'Sir, the dispensation of Gotama Buddha will last five thousand years and (then) disappear. When it has disappeared there will be an abundance of bad actions in the world. Even the word 'good' will not exist — how much less the occurrence of good (actions) ! Gradually human beings will lose (all) conscience and (sense of) shame, breaking (all) rules: they will not consider 'this is my mother, my daughter, my sister or grand-daughter', and will be (as) shameless as goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, jackals, dogs, and the like. Then gradually, because of their abundant bad actions, from (having) a lifetime fixed at a hundred years, human beings will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of ten years. When there is taking and giving in marriage³ between five year old boy(s) and girl(s), then will occur an 'intervening period of the sword'. Men will regard each other as animals; whatever they (can) grasp in their hands⁴ will become a weapon like a two-edged (sword) or a single-edged razor, (and) they will kill each other. The wise among them, as soon as they hear of

¹ These are: matricide, parricide, killing an Arahant, causing a Buddha to shed blood, and creating schism in the Order.

² Reading *bodhiñ ca chedakā* with M5.

³ Reading *āvāhavivāho* with M5.

⁴ Reading with M5 *yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitaṃ tan taṃ ...*

the destruction, will go to the mountains and hide by themselves; all the rest apart from them will attack and destroy each other within seven days. When the seventh day has passed, they will come out, each one from his hiding-place, embrace each other and come into harmony with each other, (saying) 'let us do good, and abstain from killing, from theft, sexual misdeeds, lying, intoxicating drink, speech which is malicious, harsh or frivolous, from envy, ill-will and wrong views — let us make merit !' (And so) they will make merit. Those who live ten years will have children who live for twenty; and as human beings make more and more merit, their children will gradually live for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety and a hundred years. Children will gradually live for two hundred years, (then) three, four, five, six, seven, eight and nine hundred years, (and then finally) a thousand. Gradually, the children of those who live a thousand years will live for two thousand; (then) for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten thousand. Then human beings will practice religion still more, and will live for a hundred thousand years; as they practice religion still more, there will be those who live for millions and millions of years¹; practising religion still further than this, they will live for an incalculable amount of time. Then old age and death will not be known among (these) beings; but again they will become negligent, and their length of life will diminish.² From (having) an incalculable length of life, men will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of millions and millions of years³; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of ninety thousand years; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of eighty thousand years. At that time it will rain (only) in the middle of the night, every fortnight, ten

¹ Reading *koṭisatasahassāyukā* with M5; literally a hundred thousand crores; on *koṭi* see p. 79 note 1.

² Assuming *āyu parihāyissati*.

³ Assuming (vassa-) *koṭisatasahassāyukā*, as at M5 above; see note 1 above.

days or five days, increasing the fertility of the earth.¹ The Rose-Apple Island will be prosperous (and) continuously filled with flowers, fruits, thickly-clustered garlands, and trees; (it will be) crowded with villages and towns (only) a cock's-flight (apart), free from thieves and robbers, without (any) grasping at (wrong) views, (and) blazing with royal cities; (it will be) replete with all treasures, happy, with abundant alms-food and at peace, replete with great amounts of food and drink, hard and soft food, fish, meat and the like, prospering with wealth and possessions. The reservoirs will be everywhere filled with beautifully soft water. Then, sir, husbands and wives will enjoy the pleasures of the five senses without arguments or anger; farmers, traders, and the like will live happily without (needing to) work; men and women will not (need to) spin thread or weave the loom, (but) will wear celestial clothes. Men will be content with their wives, and women with their husbands; restrained,² men will not commit adultery nor women make another man their husband, (but) they will be loving and pleasant to one another. No-one will stir up quarrels because of villages, towns, wealth, crops, fields, property or soil; all human beings will be handsome, with beautiful bodies, (and will be) loving and pleasant to each other. Crows will become friendly with owls, cats with mice, deer with lions, mongooses with snakes, lions with deer, and so on: in this way all animals which are (usually) enemies will be friendly to each other. Then, from one grain of self-growing rice (will come already-)husked grains: two thousand two hundred and seventy cartloads will be (for them as easily had as) sixteen *ambana*-measures and two *tumba*-s.³ Then I will

¹ Literally 'the nutritive essence of the earth', *paṭhavirasa* (spelt thus in text); it is said that seeds take up this 'earth-essence', along with liquid, or 'the nutritive essence of water' (*sineha*, *aporasa*) to produce growth: S I 134, A I 32, V 213, Spk I 250, Pj II 5–6, etc.

² Again, assuming *samyamā* is being used adjectivally.

³ I translate the text of M5, cited here by Denis but occurring in that ms. after the sentence 'farmers ... will live happily without (the need to) work'. Similar sentiments are expressed at Anāg vv. 27–29, and for the interpretation here see

listen to the entreaty of the gods and Brahmas living in the ten thousand-fold world system; I will make the Five Considerations, as to time, place, continent, family, and age-limit of the mother; (and) I will come as Buddha to the human world.' When he had said this, in order to praise his own perfections he said:

During a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen incalculable aeons I fulfilled the perfections variously, acting¹ as a future Buddha excelling in energy, and gave gifts²: when I attain omniscience no-one will be deformed. Putting ornaments on my head and ointment on my eyes I gave to beggars for millions and millions of years: when I attain omniscience no human being will be blind. Ornamenting all parts (of my body) I gave a complete gift: when I attain omniscience, no-one will be deformed. I told no lies and did not deceive anyone who asked (me for something): when I attain omniscience, no human being will be dumb. When I heard the Teaching I was glad, and I listened to what supplicants said: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be deaf. I looked at virtuous supplicants with loving eyes: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be blind. With upright body I gave gifts and the like at the proper time: when I attain omniscience no human being will be humpbacked. I gave beings medicine(s) and got rid of³ the danger (from disease): when I attain omniscience, then beings will be in good health. I practised loving-kindness, destroying beings' fear and

Leumann (19) ad loc. The Anāg reads *ambanaṃ soḷasaṃ*, 'one sixteenth of an *ambana*'.

¹ Reading *caritvā* with M2.

² As Denis notes, the forms and tenses of the verbs in these verses are odd. The translation assumes all Metteyya's assertions about himself refer to the past, and all predictions about others refer to the future.

³ Reading *vinodayi* with M5.

terror: when I attain omniscience, then there will be no Māras.¹ In a pleasant way I gave pleasing food and drink: when I attain omniscience human beings will be prosperous. In a pleasant way I gave pleasing clothes: when I attain omniscience human beings will be handsome. I gave to supplicants pleasing vehicles, elephants, horses, chariots, palanquins and litters: when I attain omniscience human beings will be happy. I freed beings from bondage, from hatred and suffering: when I attain omniscience, living beings will be free. I practised loving-kindness equally to friend and foe: when I attain omniscience, the ground will be even. I made supplicants happy with food and wealth: when I attain omniscience rivers will be full of cool water.

(Then Metteyya said this:)²

When they have done any (act of) merit human beings, full of fear of rebirth, aspire to (see) me; I will free them from existence. I will cause (them) to cross to the further shore of the world, (this world) whose fearful origin is ignorance, which is entangled in the net of delusion and carried away by the four floods. I (will) teach³ the way to liberation to those who are smeared with the dirt of defilement, who follow after the thief (which is) craving, and have gone astray in (all) the regions of rebirth; I will teach the way to heaven to beings in the hells (called) Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Tāpana, Patāpana and Avīci. I will cut from (their) bondage beings who are bound by the ties of ignorance and caught in the net of craving, and make them

¹ *Māra*, literally death, is a name given to various phenomena and gods, all of which/whom are malevolent in some way; see DPPN s.v.

² This is found only in M3, but marks a natural break in the verses.

³ The verbs in this sentence and the next are in the aorist.

attain *nirvāṇa*. The city of *nirvāṇa*, without old age or death, has a fence of wrong views and a door bolted by the sixty-two views: with the key of the Eight-fold Path I will open up (this door) for beings. I will give the medicinal stick of wisdom to beings whose sight is spoilt through being covered with the darkness of lust and hatred, and clean their eyes. I will give the excellent medicine of understanding to beings who are sick with grief, who suffer much, and who are oppressed by old age and death,¹ and (so) cure (them). I will suffuse with the light of understanding (the world) with its gods, asuras and humans, gone astray in the darkness of delusion,² and take away the darkness. I will raise from hell those who are falling, helpless and without refuge, into the hells, and show them the way to the further shore.

When he had said this the future Buddha told (the elder): ‘Sir, recount to human beings what I have said’. With his shining hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together, and putting the shining añjali-greeting (thus made) firmly to his forehead, (itself) like a well-washed plate of gold, he walked around the delightful sapphire Cūlāmaṇi-shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and made a fivefold prostration, and took leave of the elder; escorted by millions and millions of junior gods and goddesses, shining like a full moon, risen to the top of the sky freed from masses of dense cloud (and) surrounded by clusters of stars, he went to the Tusita city. So it is said:

Thus the supremely beautiful Metteyya worshipped at the excellent shrine, again paid reverence, and left keeping his face

¹ The epithets here must be taken to refer to ‘beings’, although they are in the accusative singular and not genitive (used for dative) plural.

² Again, the grammar is faulty here, although the sense is clear.

towards (the shrine).¹ And all the celestial maidens worshipped at the excellent shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and left (likewise). Just as the moon shines on an autumn full moon night, so the noble Metteyya shone among the gods. Like a lion among deer, a bull among cows, a Garuda among birds, so was he among the gods. Like Meru among mountains, adorned with the seven jewels, a Universal Emperor among men, so was he among the gods. The Pāricchattaka² among trees, the lotus among flowers, beryl among gems, so was he among the gods. Like fire at the top of a mountain, like refined gold, surpassing all the gods he shone with the fire of his beauty. Going to the Tusita realm, surrounded by gods, he experienced divine happiness and caused beings to rejoice³ for a long time.

The elder⁴ (possessed, as if he) was adorned with a multitude of ornaments, unlimited good qualities, such as the four perfect virtues — the supreme virtue of restraint by the Monastic Rule, the virtue of sense-restraint, the perfect virtue of right livelihood and the virtue of dependence (only) on the four requisites (of the Monastic Life). At the same moment (as Metteyya left) he paid reverence to the Cūlāmaṇi-

¹ *Piṭṭhito*, lit. 'backwards'.

² A tree in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

³ Taking *pamodati* in the sense of the causative *pamodeti*; perhaps the text should be emended.

⁴ The Pali has a single long sentence here, beginning with 'at the same moment (as Metteyya left)'; I have changed the long string of epithets applied to Māleyyadeva and to the golden swan into separate sentences. M3 has a different and shorter ending section, reproduced in Appendix C. The sense is much the same, but it adds in the last sentence of the prose: 'whoever listens attentively [assuming *suṇanti sakkaccaṃ*] to the Vessantara (Jātaka), taught by the Conqueror, and whatever benefactors make merit and (practise) morality and the like, (they will all) hear [assuming *suṇanti*, used for the future tense] the excellent Happy One Metteyya, (their) support [taking *passayaṃ* as equivalent to *apassayaṃ*].

shrine and took leave of Sakka, king of the gods. He travelled along the path of rebirth¹ which is the origin of sufferings such as birth, old age and death, which have their home in numerous forest thickets crowded with various trees and forest creepers such as the extremely strong (trees and creepers of) lust, craving and wrong views.² He shone like a golden swan whose supreme, outstanding body had a head guarding the threefold knowledge, wings of the fourth meditation level, two excellent lucky feet of the beautiful, shining bases of supernatural power, and the entire plumage guarding the eight liberations, the analytical knowledges and the worldly and super-worldly confidences. He descended from the realm of the Thirty-three, came to Rose-Apple Island, and with the incomparable grace natural to a disciple (of the Buddha)³ went for alms in villages, towns and royal cities. So it is said:

Then the elder (Māleyya-)deva took leave of the king of the gods, paid reverence again at the shrine and came down from heaven. He shone like a golden swan as he came again to the human (world) and went for alms in towns and royal cities.

As he returned for alms he announced to the people of Rose-Apple Island the news of Metteyya. When they heard what the elder said people were glad and made merit through giving and the like: at the end of their lives they filled up the divine worlds. The poor man who had given the eight blue lotus flowers remembered that gift of lotuses all his life; when he died (he went) from the human world and was reborn in the realm of the Thirty-three, in a blue-lotus palace inlaid with seven jewels,

¹ i.e. he returned to earth from heaven.

² There is probably a pun intended here between *vana*- as 'forest' and *vana* as a synonym for *taṇhā*, 'craving'. The image is of Māleyyadeva returning from heaven like a swan through a forest, both of which are metaphorically elaborated.

³ i.e. not the same as the 'grace' or 'charm' of a Buddha, *Buddha-līlā*.

crowded with celestial maidens and ringing with the sound of dancing, singing and the five kinds of musical instrument. As he walked lotuses of five colours (appeared to) receive each foot; the odour from his mouth pervaded the entire city of the gods like the perfume of a lotus. The gods and goddesses smelt the lotus-perfume and followed after him; they all saw a lotus receiving each foot, and told Sakka, king of the gods. When he heard their tale he was delighted, and went there (to him) and asked 'God, what deed of merit did you do in the human world to obtain such happiness?' He listened to what Sakka said and replied 'King of the gods, formerly in the human world I lived in Mithilā supporting my mother; I was a young man called Piṅguttara.¹ One day I went to a certain pond to bathe. When I had bathed there I saw eight blue lotus flowers; I took them and gave them to a certain elder. Because of that gift of blue lotuses I have been born in a blue-lotus palace; as I walk lotus flowers come into existence at each step, my eyes are like blue-lotus petals, my body has an odour like that of a blue lotus, and I am born (here) as the junior god named Blue-lotus'. When Sakka heard this he became joyful and glad; he took blue-lotus flowers and worshipped at the shrine of the Buddha. The junior god Blue Lotus is still there today. So it is said:

To enjoy (the result of) that merit, and divine happiness, in a future birth in the presence of Metteyya — this is the result of a gift of flowers. Therefore the wise man who aspires to be in the presence of Metteyya should practice alms-giving, morality and the like. Whoever remembers the future Buddha's words and does any act of merit, will gain the advantage of seeing Metteyya, and will in the future make an end of suffering;

¹ J VI 347–49 tells a different story of a young man from Mithilā, in north India, with this name; perhaps the Māleyyadevattheravattu has borrowed the names, although this is clearly the same person as at the start of the story, in Kamboja village, Rohana, Sri Lanka.

(before then,) moving on through rebirth, that person will not go to hell.

End of the expository account of the Elder Māleyyadeva.

(This) will be a cause of (attaining) *nirvāṇa* in the future !¹

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for titles of Pali texts are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary

Childers = R.C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pāli Language

CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary

DPPN = Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series

PED = The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary

PTS = Pali Text Society

¹ Denis states that in M1, the only ms. in which it occurs, the word *bhavissanti* [for *bhavissati*] seems to have been written later, to complete the verse. Presumably the 'cause' for attaining *nirvāṇa* here is copying the manuscript and/or listening to its being recited.

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NIBBĀNASUTTA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA ON NIBBĀNA AS A GREAT CITY¹

The pages that follow carry a preliminary edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta*, an “allegedly non-canonical”² Pali text

¹ This is a corrected and revised version of the edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta* that was published as “The Sutta on Nibbāna as a Great City” in the commemorative volume for the Ven. Hammalava Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Essays: A Miscellany*, edited by Pollamure Sorata Thera, Laksman Perera, and Karl Goonasena (London: Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre, 1992), pp. 38–67.

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² I use this appellation to refer to texts which begin with the standard phrases of a sutta — “*Evam me sutam. Ekam samayaṃ ...*” — but are not found in standard editions of the Pali canon. The term comes from K.D. Somadasa, who uses it in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), Vol. I, p. 27. I prefer this label to the alternative designations “apocryphal” or “counterfeit”, since it is less likely to pre-judge the whole issue of the status of such texts; see Charles Hallisey, “Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-Canonical Sutta,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, XV (1990), pp. 156–58. The use of the term “apocryphal” for texts whose inclusion in the Canon might be contested has been popularized by Padmanabh S. Jaini; see especially “*Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35 (1992), p. 193. The label “counterfeit Sutta” has been applied to the *Dasabodhisattupattikathā* by the Ven. H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth*